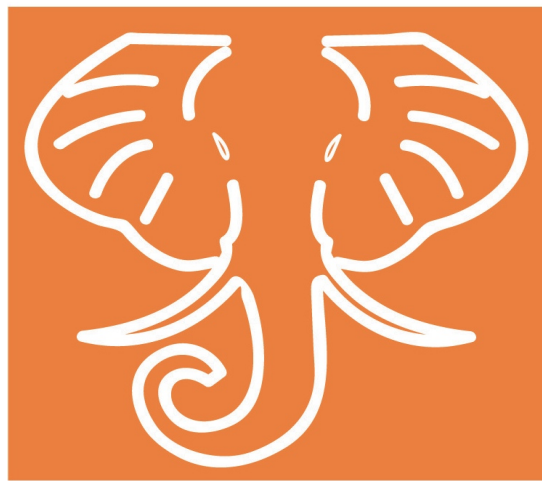


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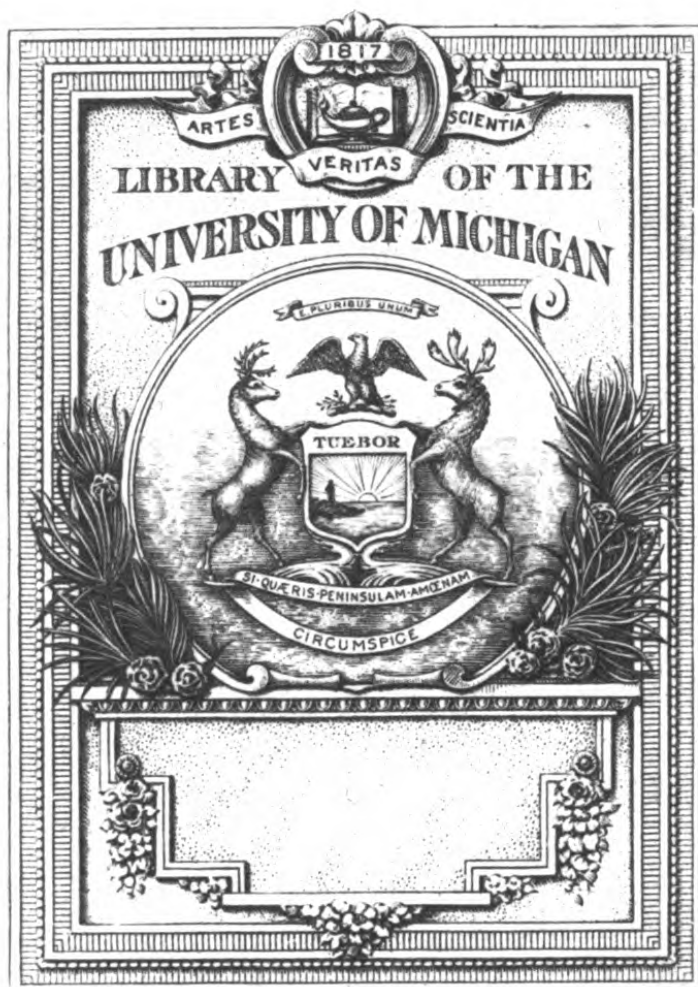
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NUMISMATIC NOTES
AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 62



THE MELOS HOARD OF
1907

BY
J. G. MILNE

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET
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THE MELOS HOARD OF 1907

BY J. G. MILNE

In 1907 a hoard of coins was unearthed in the island of Melos, the contents of which were described by M. Robert Jameson in the *Revue Numismatique* two years later.¹ The circumstances in which the hoard was deposited could not be ascertained, as the discovery was made in the first instance by a party of children, and was followed by a general hunt for treasure: all that can be said is that probably all the coins which



had been deposited were recovered, and, except for three or four destroyed by the children in their attempts to adapt them for their own purposes, came under M. Jameson's notice. The number actually catalogued in his article was 79, including specimens of 31 distinct types.

Nearly all these types were not only new, in the sense that they were unknown to numismatists

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and collectors, but were of a character essentially different from any other Melian coins. Two specimens alone belong to the class which is generally accepted as having been struck at Melos about 480 B.C., with a pomegranate as the obverse type and a wheel on the reverse: the rest, almost all definitely later in style, have with the familiar pomegranate a remarkable variety of reverse types—wherein consists their singularity. So the first point that emerges from the study of this hoard is that at some date appreciably later than 480 the Melians issued a coinage of a new character, which had vanished off the face of the earth until the hoard was discovered.

The determination of this date must rest on considerations of style, and these are not easy to control in the case of an isolated group like the coins in the Melian hoard: moreover, the types included in the hoard might be thought, at first sight, to range over a period of forty or fifty years. But M. Babelon has pointed out that the specimens were all in mint condition, and appeared never to have been in circulation: ² they were presumably all struck at approximately the same time, shortly before they were buried, and that time must be fixed by the latest of the types, whatever may be the explanation of the use of archaic or archaistic designs. M. Jameson considered that some of the types cannot be dated long before 416, and M. Babelon concurred in this

conclusion, which can certainly be accepted as in accordance with all the evidence that is available. It may therefore be taken that the hoard consists of coins issued, either simultaneously or during a very limited period, in 416 or shortly before that year.

The output of these coins must have been, or must have been intended to be, a fairly extensive one. If the two examples of the older class are left out of account, there are twenty-nine reverse types, involving at least as many dies, represented in the hoard: and for a state of the size of Melos to use such a number of dies in a short period was quite exceptional. The coinage of Himera, a city which was certainly not less important than Melos in the commercial connexions of the fifth century, has been carefully studied; and it appears that fifteen reverse-dies for drachmas and didrachms are all that can be found for the period from 472 to 409.³ In the fourth and third centuries, when coins were more definitely dated by the names of officials, it is rare to find more than one reverse die in a year, except in the important commercial coinages: and the obverse-dies, the life of which was a good deal longer than that of reverse-dies, frequently lasted for two or three years.⁴

Moreover, this coinage can hardly have been designed for purely local service. Not only had the Melians managed to exist, so far as present

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evidence shows, for more than half a century without striking any coins in their own name, and would hardly have been faced by a sudden shortage of currency so great as to require such an extensive issue, but the coins that were found are not of the kind that would be wanted for internal trade. The hoard consisted exclusively of staters, without any fractional pieces: and in the Greek world staters were more important for foreign than for home markets. It is obvious that in the ordinary business of daily shopping there would be a constant need for smaller coins than the staters, which represented perhaps three or four days' wages of a working-man: on the other hand, if a remittance had to be sent to a distant place, it would naturally be made up in the largest coins available. Consequently, while coins of low values are rarely found in Greece far from their place of origin, the converse is the case in regard to staters: the number of Athenian tetradrachms, for instance, that have been found in Attica is small compared with those that have been turned up in other parts of the Greek world.⁵

It is important, in this connexion, to note that the standard on which these Melian coins are struck is a variant from those used by their neighbours. The norm is slightly over 14 grammes: exceptional specimens weigh as much as 14.52 or as little as 13.00, but the great majority are within the range of 14.30 to 13.90. This means a coin

about midway between the Attic and the Aeginetan staters.

The types used for these coins will give a clue to the market for which they were designed. As has been mentioned already, these types are of several distinct varieties: and in that respect this group of issues of Melos differs markedly from most Greek commercial coinages of silver. When a Greek state desired to put its supplies of silver into trade, it habitually struck its coins with the same types over long periods of years: Athens and Aegina were strictly conservative in this respect; and Corinth, while allowing minor variations in detail of the designs, kept to the same main types for her staters almost throughout her history as an independent state. The idea underlying the practice is of course a familiar one, and persists to the present day. As the primary object was to sell the silver as bullion, and the coins were stamped as a guarantee of purity, not only was it unnecessary to vary the types in order to make them more attractive to the purchaser, but it was actually undesirable, at any rate on coins destined for the markets of the Near East, to admit even a trifling alteration; this might arouse suspicion as to the genuineness of the stamp in the mind of a customer in the same way as an irregularity in the signature of a cheque would do in modern trade. It was only states which had no sources of silver under their own control, and

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reissued what they obtained from the centres of the metal-supply either for their own glorification, like Thebes at the end of the fifth century, or as objects of art, like the Eleians,⁶ that indulged in extensive variations of the types of their staters: and Melos, at the period under consideration, would certainly not fall into either of these two classes.

There were, however, some Greek commercial cities which did not follow this practice, but habitually varied the types of their coins, although they circulated them as bullion: the most notable amongst these series are the electrum of Cyzicus, Mytilene, and Phocaea, well known in contemporary records as *Κυζικηνοί* and *Φωκαίδες*. In these, not only is the name of the city which issued the coin regularly omitted, but the badge, in most Greek commercial coinages the main part of the type, is relegated to a subordinate position, or, at Mytilene, entirely suppressed: while the type proper has seldom any local reference, and seems to have been changed with every issue. These electrum coins occupied an exceptional place in the Greek banking world: they were the lineal descendants of the old West Asiatic electrum currency, the production of which, after the end of the sixth century B.C., had been restricted to three out of the numerous mints from which it had been issued in earlier times, presumably under a special arrangement made by the sovereign

power: thus it was rather as the agents of the king of Persia than as principals that the three cities struck their staters and fractions, and the city-badge was fittingly reduced to the rank of a mint-mark. The function of these coins was to provide an international measure of exchange between two areas, of which one used a bimetallic gold and silver, the other a pure silver standard: this would have made reckoning of accounts either in gold or in silver complicated, and it was much simpler to have recourse to a third metal—electrum, to the Greeks, was a distinct metal, not a compound. The international character of the currency was emphasized by the choice of types, which were borrowed from all quarters, particularly for the Cyzicenes: on these are found, for example, such definitely Athenian types as the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, Gaia with the infant Erichthonius, and Cecrops; or, from other sources, Triptolemus of Eleusis, and the omphalos and eagles of Delphi.

In this respect, there is a distinct resemblance between the Melian coinage and the West Asiatic electrum: and this resemblance was noted by M. Jameson when he published his account of the hoard.⁷ The subordination of the badge does not go so far in the Melian coins as in the Cyzicene: the pomegranate of Melos is the obverse type, with one exception, while the variant devices are placed on the reverse: a nearer parallel

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to this can be found in a coinage which competed with that of Cyzicus in the fourth century, the gold of its neighbour Lampsacus, where the city badge occupies one side of the coin and different exotic types the other. The reason for this may be that the Melians were not the agents of a superior power, but an independent state, and so were fully justified in placing their badge and name conspicuously on their coins. But the choice of the types for the reverses suggests strongly that the Melian coins were intended to be advertised as international. Some of these types, it is true, are not very distinctive, but many of them would be readily recognised as the badges of states in the Aegaeon area—the rosette of Erythrae, the ornamented star of Miletus, the triskelis of Lycia, the figleaf of Camirus, the dolphins of Thera, the amphora of Andros, the grapes and bee of Iulis, the wheel of Chalcis, the gorgoneion of Eretria, the Kabeiros of Samothrace, and, perhaps most significant of all, the ram's head of Aegina.

It may be objected that there was no need for the issue of a fresh international currency in the Aegaeon market in the last quarter of the fifth century: and, so far as ordinary commercial requirements were concerned, this would be quite true. The business of that part of the world was conducted by means of the electrum of Cyzicus, Phocaea, and Mytilene for purposes of exchange

between Greece and Asia, and of silver on the Athenian and Aeginetan standards for trade that was more definitely Greek: the silver of Corinth may be left out of the story, as it nearly all went westwards from Corinth, and is rarely found in the Ægæan area. Those regions, such as Boeotia and the Peloponnesian states, which were accustomed to doing their business on the Aeginetan standard, and did not want the trouble of adapting their reckonings to fit in with the Athenian system, had still a plentiful supply of coins of Aeginetan weight at their disposal: the issue of coins at Aegina itself had ceased on the capture of the island by the Athenians, but several cities, especially Thebes and Sicyon, were striking freely on the Aeginetan standard, and their coins would be described in ordinary intercourse as Aeginetic. Even apart from these, however, there must have been large quantities of the old Aeginetan staters in circulation; the mere condition of wear in which these are frequently found would suggest that they had a very long life: and, as a matter of fact, the contents of hoards prove that the old coins struck at Aegina before the middle of the fifth century continued to be used till after the end of the fourth. As an instance may be taken a hoard discovered at Myron in Boeotia, which can be dated to about 330 by the presence in it of coins of the Boeotian League: in this, out of a total of 1647 coins, no less than 234 are Aeginetan staters

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of the old type: and this instance is not an isolated one, to be explained on the supposition that a deposit of coins had been brought back into circulation, since there are similar cases elsewhere.⁸ Further, Aeginetan staters are mentioned in the temple-inventories at Delos⁹ as late as 279, which points to the same conclusion. So there is no reason to assume that about 420 a shortage of currency existed in the area formerly served by Aegina, which the Melians proposed to meet by their new issues—even if they had struck on the Aeginetan standard.

This coinage, however, was not on the Aeginetan standard, but a heavier one: and the difference is important. The old Aeginetan coins had been demonetized, for practical purposes, when Aegina ceased to exist—that is, the state which had guaranteed the coins and assigned to them a face value as didrachms, drachmas, and so forth, was no longer in a position to substantiate its guarantee and secure their acceptance at that face value. Thus the Aeginetan coins became bullion instead of specie: they virtually passed back into the original category which the turtles of Aegina had occupied before Pheidon of Argos stabilized the weights and measures of the Peloponnesus and assigned a denomination to the turtles in terms of the earlier iron currency. That this was actually their fate may be seen from the condition in which many of them have been found: they are

marked with little counterstamps, similar to those that occur on several other classes of coins that were treated as bullion:¹⁰ it is generally agreed that these counterstamps were placed on the coins by bankers or money-changers, and served as a guarantee of the quality of the metal, though they could not of course give a value in specie. As the Aeginetan coins are the only ones belonging to any of the main Greek commercial currencies that are found so countermarked in Greece itself, it is fairly clear that at some period they circulated at their metal value: and the time when Aegina was in eclipse is that when this is most likely to have occurred.

It may be remarked that a guarantee of purity of metal was not practically superfluous in the case of an Aeginetan coin of the series issued in the sixth and fifth centuries: a Delian inventory of 364 mentions three Aeginetan staters, of which one was of base metal:¹¹ and, though it is of course possible that this may have been a stater of Aeginetan weight struck at some other city, such as Thebes, and classed as Aeginetan in the manner already noted, there are actually plated specimens of the turtles extant today.¹²

Another point to be remembered is that in the fifth century there were not many Greek coins in circulation of which the metal value was as great as the face value. It is of course inevitable that when a state assigns a denomination to a coin,

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that coin becomes a token: and, for its own protection, the state is bound to allow a sufficient margin between the metal contents of the coin and its nominal value to obviate the risk of the coin becoming more valuable as metal than as currency, owing to a rise in the market price of the metal. The margin might indeed be a narrow one, if the state could control the markets:¹³ it most probably was so at Athens, where the output of the mines of Laurium would enable the authorities to stabilize prices: but even there the margin existed, fixed by law,¹⁴ and by the end of the fifth century most Greeks were probably quite accustomed to the idea that a drachma was a drachma, regardless of its precise silver contents, so long as it appeared to have been struck by a responsible authority.

It is true that the merchants who traded in money, the bankers and money-changers, and the big commercial firms, would have their regular tables of exchange for different kinds of currency, and would know the relation of the Athenian drachma to the Aeginetan: but the man in the street, and still more the man in the country, would not trouble about these things. As anyone who has travelled in the Near East will be aware, a great deal of business is done with the aid of mixed currencies—in some remote districts old Roman coins are even now used as small change—and there is not much attention paid to

exchange tables. And the contents of hoards found in Greece seem to suggest that, outside the chief cities, coins of different standards circulated side by side: and it is hardly imaginable that the Greek peasant weighed every coin he received, any more than his descendant does today, or than his ancestor weighed the oxen that according to tradition were once used as currency.

There is, however, one point to be emphasized—that two coins of different weights may pass, in such circumstances, as of the same purchasing power, but that the heavier coin will be more popular, if a choice is possible.¹⁵ This is natural enough: and it probably explains why, in the days when gold coins were circulating freely, English sovereigns were preferred to French twenty franc or Italian twenty lire pieces. They were all alike ‘gold pieces,’ and, in the country districts of Greece, the peasants regarded them as worth the same number of paper drachmas: but they would rather have the sovereigns, because these were the heavier.¹⁶ This may also explain why Pisis-tratus, when he wished to capture the Egyptian silver trade, made the Athenian stater a tetradrachm instead of a didrachm: that is, his silver unit was then heavier than the Aeginetan.

The same consideration may have influenced the Melians when they based their new coinage on a stater of about 14 grammes weight: this was the old weight of the Melian stater before the

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Persian wars, and it has been called a Phoenician didrachm: the name is perhaps rather misleading, as the drachma played no part in the Phoenician weight system, but it is probable enough that the coin was accounted as a didrachm at Melos. Before Athenian influence became dominant in the Aegean, the island silver coinages generally do not seem to have developed beyond what may be called the stater-system: they, as well as those of Caria and Southern Ionia, were reckoned as units or as fractions of the units, like the old electrum coinage: but, when they had to be related to the currency of the mainland of Greece, they were classed with the Aeginetan issues, to which they approximated in weight, and their staters were regarded as didrachms, like the Aeginetan. So the Melians were putting on the market a coinage with a drachma of about 7 grammes,¹⁷ against the Athenian of about 4.

The assumption that the Melians proposed to revive the old stater coinage of the islands and Caria is supported, not only by the choice of types to which reference has already been made, but also by the archaic form in which many of these types are represented: and here again a parallel may be found in the Cyzicene electrum. Throughout its history, down to its supersession by the new world-coinage of Alexander the Great, the fabric of the Cyzicene coinage remained deliberately archaistic: it was not in the execution

of the types, as was the case at Athens, but in the shape of the flans, that the archaism was shown: when nearly all states in Greece were producing neat well-rounded coins, Cyzicus continued to put out irregular and clumsy electrum staters, as if to emphasize the fact that these were merely lumps of metal, to be rated at metal prices, not coins with a value in specie. The rudeness of the flans is very remarkable in its contrast to the fine work of the dies that were used to strike them. So the Melians, by the choice of archaic types, may have intended to suggest that their new coinage was really a throwback to an old state of affairs.

This was tantamount to a renewal of the Aeginetan rivalry with Athens in matters of currency, and in an aggravated form. The old Aeginetan turtles, as already mentioned, had been demonetized, and it did not matter very much to the Athenians if they continued to circulate as bullion: but this new coinage had a fixed value at Melos, and, whatever might be said at Athens, when a Melian stater got back to Melos it was worth two drachmas. In the Athenian Empire, of course, the decree of Athens held good, at any rate where Athens was in a position to enforce it:¹⁸ but there was a real risk of competition in Eastern markets, and even in some parts of the Empire, where the affection for Athens might not be strong enough to overcome the temptation of an extra 75 per cent. And, as is well brought out

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by M. Jameson,¹⁹ such a competition touched Athens on a very tender spot: silver was one of the most lucrative products of Attica, whose prosperity began and ended with that of the mines of Laurium, and the Athenians simply could not allow another state to undersell them in the silver market without shaking the main foundations of their commerce.

In this, then, may be found a reason for the massacre of the Melians, the culmination of what Grote described as 'one of the grossest and most inexcusable pieces of cruelty combined with injustice which Grecian history presents to us,'²⁰ and for which no other historian seems to have suggested an adequate motive. Thucydides evidently was puzzled how to account for it:²¹ he was of course in banishment at the time, and doubtless had no opportunity—as indeed he might not have had if he had been at Athens—of learning the considerations that were present in the minds of the men who were responsible for the policy. So far as he was aware, the Melians were simply guilty of sitting on the fence, and, according to his standards, which were those of the average Greek, while the Athenians might have been justified in taking forcible action to compel them to accept membership of the Empire, their crime was not one calling for extermination. The Athenian leaders must have known that this was the common run of sentiment, and would hardly

have gone counter to it except for some compelling reason. If the interpretation here given of the Melian coinage is correct, such a compelling reason may be found in the threat to Athenian control of the silver market that was implied in it, albeit not a reason that an Athenian orator might have cared to publish to the world.

It may be material to call attention to the similarity in the treatment meted out to the Aeginetans and to the Melians by Athens. In the eighth year of the Peloponnesian war the Athenians attacked the Aeginetans who had been expelled from Aegina in the first year and had been given a refuge at Thyrea by the Spartans, and massacred all who were not killed in the fighting, to satisfy their ancient enmity, as Thucydides says.²² Now this enmity was essentially based on commercial grounds: the Aeginetans, so long as they were able, had strangled Athenian trade, and sowed the seeds of an undying hatred. Hence, when another state, almost immediately after the last remnants of the Aeginetans had been exterminated, started a line of action which might be interpreted as an attempt to take the place of the Aeginetans as commercial rivals of Athens, it was not unnatural that the Athenians should decide that Melos should share the fate of Aegina.

At any rate, the coinage of the Melians came to an abrupt end: if any of it got out of the island

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into trade, it has disappeared, and no record of it would exist had not some one, perhaps during the Athenian attack, buried his hoard of money, to be discovered more than two thousand years later by a party of school-children.

NOTES

1. *Rev. Num.*, 4 XIII (1909), 188–208.
2. *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*, II 3, 861.
3. *Mitth. Bay. num. Gesellsch.*, XLVII (1929), 101–148.
For another example see the account of the tetradrachms of Selinus by W. Schwabacher in the same periodical for 1925, which shows a total of 35 reverse dies between 467 and 409. Selinus, at this period, was unquestionably much more flourishing than either Himera or Melos.
4. The fullest evidence as to the life of dies in the later period of Greek coinage is in H. von Fritze's paper on the issues of Alexandria Troas in *Nomisma* VI.
5. Details of the distribution of coins in hoards may be found in S. P. Noe's *Bibliography of Greek coin hoards*. The facts as to the centres at which Greek silver coins come on the market are familiar to collectors: Borrell, for instance, noted nearly a century ago that the chief source of the spread tetradrachms of Western Asia Minor was the coast of Syria. The exhaustive analysis of the coin-finds at Pergamum by K. Regling in *Altertümer von Pergamon*, I, 355–363 shows most clearly the composition of the bronze currency of a Greek city.
6. See *Num. Chron.*, 5 XI (1931), 171–180.
7. *loc. cit.* p. 207.
8. See Noe as above.
9. *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, XIV (1890), 404.

10. Babelon, *Traité*, II 1, 661.
11. *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, X (1886), 463.
12. Babelon, *Traité*, II 1, 661.
13. The best example of a narrow margin can be found in the English sovereign of the last century, when stabilization was effected by fixing an artificial price for gold some way above the natural commercial value: this worked satisfactorily until the commercial value rose above the value fixed by the state.
14. See *J. H. S.*, L (1930), 179–185.
15. That coins of different metal contents can pass as of the same purchasing power can easily be tested by the example of the silver coinage in England at the present day.
16. In 1891 the peasants in Arcadia rated sovereigns and napoleons alike as gold pieces worth twenty-five drachmas. As the exchange in Athens was then about thirty-two drachmas to the sovereign, it would appear that they took an ample margin of safety.
17. The choice of the heavier standard by the Melians may have been partly due to the fact that they would probably find most of the material for their new coinage in their old staters, which would be restruck.
18. The date of the Athenian decree has been a matter of discussion, but there seems no doubt that it was earlier than the date of the Melian coinage under consideration. M. N. Tod, in his *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, puts it to about 423.
19. *loc. cit.* p. 206.
20. *History of Greece*, chap. LVI *ad fin.*
21. The perplexity of Thucydides appears in the dialogue in Book V, cc. 85–113.
22. Book IV, c. 57.

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NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 63



THE MEXICAN MINTS OF ALAMOS AND HERMOSILLO

BY
A. F. PRADEAU

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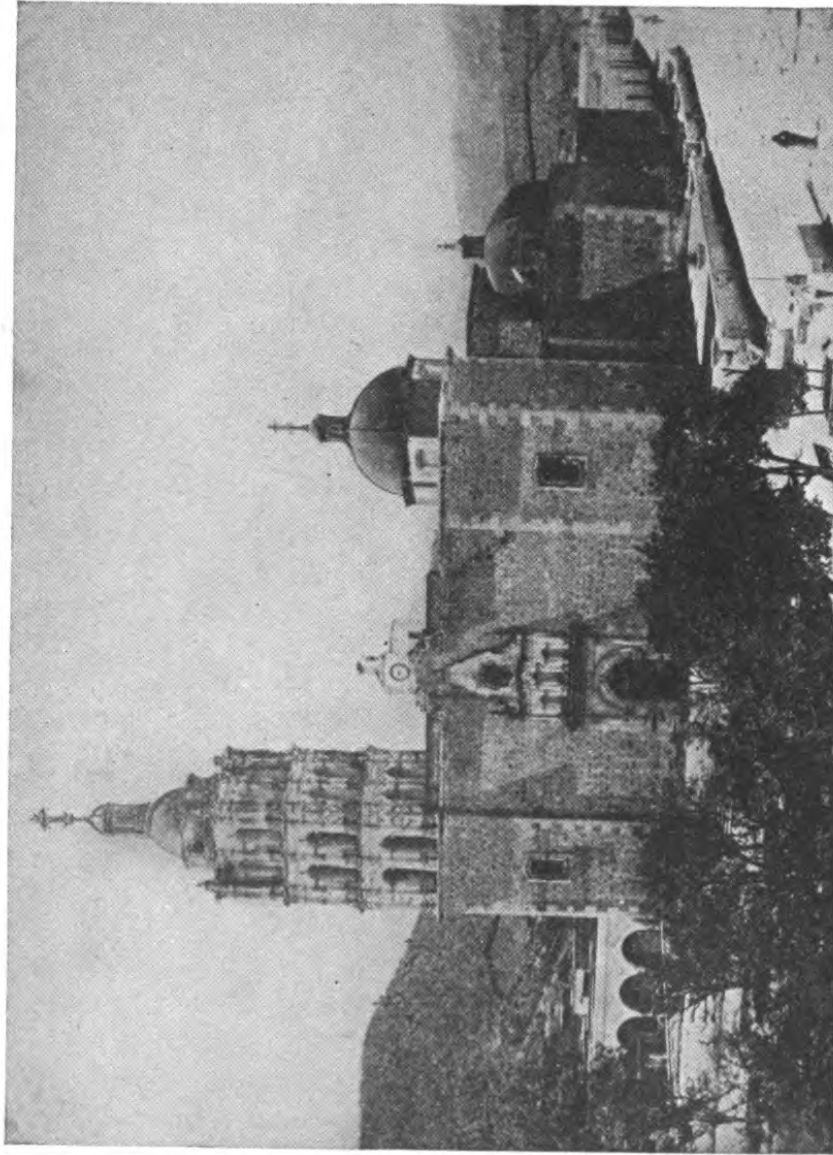
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THE MEXICAN MINTS OF ALAMOS AND HERMOSILLO

BY A. F. PRADEAU

ALAMOS—HISTORICAL SKETCH

The city of Alamos owes its name to the presence of numerous gigantic cotton-wood trees (Span. *alamo*) that grow in and around the town. It is the seat of the county of the same name. Its historical background is practically unknown, but its existence as a *rancheria* became known to the Spanish missionaries shortly after 1610, at which time Diego Martinez de Hurdaide signed a peace treaty with the Yaqui Indians. However, a mission was not founded there until 1630.* Its importance came with the discovery of rich ores in and around what is now known as Alamos, which at the time was called "*Real de los Frailes*," a name derived from two peaks that overlook the town and which are named "*Los Frailes*." Alamos was also known as "*Real de Guadalupe*," this third name being obtained from the hill that occupies the heart of the town; and it is still

* *El Estado do Sonora*. Pedro N. Ulloa. Chapter X, p. 134.

known as the "*Cerro de Guadalupe*." The discovery of gold, silver and lead ores occurred sometime between the years of 1683 and 1685.* The word *Real* preceding the name of the town signifies mines.

The County of Alamos was at that time part of the province known as Ostimuri and extended on the north to the Yaqui River; south to "*El Fuerte*" river; east to the Sierra Madre; and west to the Gulf of California (or "*Mar Bermejo*" as Cortez named it). Up to 1730 little or nothing is known of Ostimuri or Alamos as there was no proper mission history. On February 14th, 1730, the Visitador General Pedro de Rivera sent in a report to the Viceroy in which it appeared that "P. Diego Gudiño was located at San Ildefonso de Ostimuri," which I take to mean Alamos. By 1767 Alamos was the residence of the Lieutenant Governor and of a curate. It had a population of 3400 persons.†

Herbert E. Bolton in his "Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico" Washington, 1913, cites the following references:

On page 79—"A request by the Governor of San Blas that mail be sent from the Capital (Mexico City) to California by way of Chihuahua and San Antonio del Presidio de Buenavista, to avoid the de-

* *Favores Celestiales*. Eusebio Francisco Kino, p. 205.

† Bancroft, History of the North Mexican States, vol. XV, p. 574.

lay occurring when sent by Guadalajara and Los Alamos. 1794."

On page 94—"Opinion of the Commandant General of the Interior Provinces concerning the withholding of certain funds from Los Alamos. 1780."

On page 125—"Correspondence of the Viceroy with the Officials of Alamos. 1780-81."

On page 135—"Reports of the Sub-treasury (caja) of Los Alamos. 1776-79."

On page 148—"Memorandum (Memoria) of supplies for 1789 sent by the factor of the Californias, by way of Los Alamos."

Ramirez' report of 1884 credits the County or District of Alamos with thirteen mining firms with an aggregate capital of 1,365,000 Mexican pesos, operating fifteen mines, seven of which had an average annual yield of \$345,000.00 and employed seven hundred and thirty men. Eight mines near Alamos were in operation until 1909. Ulloa calculates that the production of "La Quintera" mine from the time that records were available to 1909 was not less than \$25,000,000.00.* The neighboring districts with their rich finds, in the course of time, depended upon Alamos for their supplies where they also found ready market for their ores. Batopilas and Chinipas, where from 1738 on, several penniless individuals had become multimillionaires almost overnight, were among the most prominent.†

* *El Estado de Sonora*, p. 135.

† *Reseña Historica de Batopilas*. J. S. Pareja. 1883.

The church edifice of the city of Alamos was completed about 1804 during the reign of Charles the Fourth, and the Coat of Arms of Spain can still be seen in the main façade of the building, and until 1825 the motto "*Viva Fernando Septimo*" could be read around the Coat of Arms. This edifice is the most magnificent of all the missions established in the northwest. It is constructed in its entirety of granite and cement, and having no rafters, the nave is made of beautiful arches in three rows supported by massive pillars. The church with its atrium occupies one whole city block. Until quite recently the sacred vessels, some of the images and some of the ornaments were of solid gold. The ecclesiastical robes were embroidered with fine gold and silver thread. There was a private chapel in the country house of the Almada family situated about two miles from Alamos proper, and it is said that it had beams supporting the roof made of pure silver and all of the sacred vessels of pure gold. Lieutenant R. W. H. Hardy, R.N. in his "Travels in the Interior of Mexico," p. 170, speaks of having visited Alamos, March 31st, 1825, at which time he estimated it to have a population of about 6000 inhabitants. "The houses," he says, "sufficiently indicate the opulence of its inhabitants and the luxury in which they live." Each house is adorned along its whole front with a portal of arches. This peculi-

arity of Alamos has won for it the nickname of "City of the Archways," (*Ciudad de los Portales*). The only amusements during Hardy's visit and during the century that followed were gaming, cockfighting, bullfighting and a sort of hand ball, played over a court having two walls at right angles with each other, about 75 feet high and 150 feet long, to which the natives give the name of "*El rebote*." Taking a cab and riding around the Alameda, an avenue and park lined with poplar trees, was a popular pastime of which the young were quite fond and which was indulged in every afternoon, but particularly on Sundays and holidays. Gambling among the ladies was the rule rather than the exception.

In 1825 the ore mined in the Real de Los Alamos ranged from \$80,000.00 to \$100,000.00 monthly. From the Batopilas mines \$60,000.00 was taken out in one week, and Hardy himself saw specimens of ore weighing 35 pounds, yielding after refining 32 pounds of pure silver. One of the mines of Batopilas, owned by a Mr. Robinson, gave a net profit of \$5,000,000.00 in nineteen years. When Mr. Robinson sold his mine in 1869, he caused medals to be struck, commemorating the completion of the work. (See cut on page 6.) The decadence of Alamos began with the low value of silver which practically forced all the mines to close in 1909. The main line of the Southern Pacific Railroad

6 MEXICAN MINTS

of Mexico is 72 kilometers (39 miles) away, serving Alamos with a branch line which was completed in 1907. The Vice-President of Mexico, Ramon Corral, a native of Alamos,



virtually compelled the railroad company to put in this branch. The able-bodied men who had seen better days in Alamos began to search for other fields of endeavor and the exodus of the population has never ceased, and at the time this monograph is being written (January, 1933) there are hardly 1000 inhabitants in

Alamos and its immediate vicinity. There is only one train a week into Alamos.

HISTORY OF THE MINT

Shortly after Mexico obtained its independence from Spain, when Sonora was still a part of the Province of Nueva Viscaya, a movement was started to have a mint in Alamos. Espinoza de los Monteros, in his project of separation presented February 29th, 1823, has embodied the plan of erecting and operating a mint in Alamos. In 1828, D. Leonardo Santoyo arrived in Alamos with a concession or grant, obtained from the Federal Government, permitting him to coin copper coins of "una cuartilla" denomination—three and one-eighth cents. (See photograph below.)



The inhabitants in Alamos, however, refused to accept them. They were coined in very small quantities during the years 1828 (above photograph) and 1829. In 1832 we find that Mr. Santoyo had obtained a change in his grant and had gone to Hermosillo, where he coined a different type of "una cuartilla." (Photograph on p. 8.) Hermosillo was then capital of

the State of Sonora. The inscription on the obverse is EST. D. SONORA. UNA CUART.; on the reverse, A. de 1835 L. S. HERMOSILLO., which signifies "Año de 1835 Leonardo Santoyo—Hermosillo."*



The chief reason for the establishment of a mint in Alamos was the bonanza existent in the mining districts in and around the city. Owing to the isolation of this mining center which had no railroad until 1907, communication with other cities was possible only by stage-coach, saddle and pack animals. This means of conveyance was anything but safe, and while the convoys, carrying out the silver bars or bringing in the coined gold and silver, were properly escorted by armed guards, these were often outnumbered and massacred by the marauding Yaqui Indians or bandits constantly roving in search of plunder along the routes that led to Alamos.

* Hermosillo *cuartillas* are found in Gutttag Catalogue for the years 1832, 1833, 1834, 1835 and 1836; in the Catalogue of Coins of the United States Mint, 1912 edition, for the year 1837; in my own collection for the years 1832, 1833, 1834 and 1835.

Whether this mint was established by federal or state decree I have not been able to ascertain, but it is reasonable to assume that due to the French intervention existing from 1862 to 1867, and the inaccessibility of the region, the local authorities had much to do with its foundation. During this period, when the central government was constantly being changed from one locality to another, the states exercised the rights of independent governments, subject to approval of the federal government at such times as it was possible to get in touch with it.

According to official records the first coinage of this mint is given as 1868, but J. W. Bastow, writing in the *American Journal of Numismatics*, Volume XXXII, No. 1, of July 1897, page 17, gives the date of the first minting operations as 1864. I am wholly in accord with this, as I have in my collection an *eight escudos* piece dated 1864.

Orozco y Berra in his articles entitled "*La Moneda En Mexico*" published by the newspaper "*El Renacimiento*" in 1869, says in his second article: "Of the mints at Alamos and Hermosillo I have not been able to obtain any information through official channels or in any other manner." (Free translation.)

Mr. Santiago Ramirez in his "*Noticia Historica de la Riqueza Minera de Mexico*" edited by the Government of Mexico in 1884, page 47,

gives the beginning of coinage for the Alamos mint as of 1868.

And one after another a number of writings on Mexican numismatics might be quoted in which every one has used the official archives, which, as I have stated, are incorrect. The error was caused by the unsettled condition of the country due to the French intervention and the subsequent monarchy with Maximilian of Austria as Emperor, which lasted until 1867. It is more than probable that the records of the mint, which were supposed to be sent to the treasury department (Secretaria de Hacienda), were either lost in transit or destroyed.

The following statements of tremendous importance were taken from the book entitled "*Cuentas, gastos, acreedores y otros asuntos del tiempo de lo Intervencion Francesa y del Imperio*" written by Don Manuel Payno, and published in 1869 by order of the Constitutional Government of Mexico, pages 369-373. Free translation:

"Not a single document is to be found in the national archives, that will throw light on the revenue-yielding industries of the country during the five years of French intervention in Mexico (1862-1867) excepting those of the mint at Mexico City, the records of which were kept quite accurately."

"The Minister of Finance (Secretario de Hacienda) in a circular letter addressed to all

the mints of Mexico, asking for information about the amounts coined in each, during the years of 1857 to 1867, failed to bring in a report for the mint at Alamos, which is not even mentioned."

The very fact that coins of all denominations bearing the dates of 1864, 1865, 1866 and 1867 are to be found is conclusive proof that the Alamos mint was in operation from 1864 until 1895 at which time it was closed. The information concerning the opening date is corroborated by the statement of Mr. Bastow who obtained the information directly from the officers of the mint, while still in operation or shortly after its closing. This mint was turned into a federal assay office. The personnel of the mint was retained.

From Don Manuel Larraguibel, last mint master, and from Mr. Jorge LeBrun, son of the director of the mint during the years 1878 to 1883, and from Don Lauro B. Quiros, all old residents of Alamos, I learned that the Alamos mint was established with modern machinery propelled by steam power, but that hand presses were available and used for coining silver pieces of small denomination such as half and one real pieces, which from 1874 became five and ten cent pieces.

During most of its life, this mint was leased to private individuals or companies, and although the official records only show the leasing

of this mint for the years of 1876 to 1880 inclusive, I have obtained from the above mentioned sources, statements that several companies leased this mint. The most prominent and the one which had it under contract the longest, was the English firm of Symon and Camacho. Several attempts to obtain a copy of this or any other contract have proven futile.

MINT MARK

The mint mark was a single capital "A" or "As." or with the "s" at a slightly higher level than the "A" thus "A^s." with a dash under it.

MINT MASTERS

Pascual Gaxiola (initials used P.G.) from
1864 to 1868

Domingo Larraguibel (initials used D.L.)
from 1869 to 1871

Antonio Moreno (initials used A.M.) from
1872 to 1874

Domingo Larraguibel (initials used D.L.)
from 1874 to 1878

Jorge LeBrun (initial used L) from 1878
to 1883

Manuel Larraguibel (initials used M.L.)
from 1884 to 1895

At the time of this writing, February 12th,
1933, Mr. Manuel Larraguibel, the last mint-

master of Alamos, a grand old man 83 years of age, whom I had the privilege of knowing in Alamos some thirty years ago, and now a resident of Navojoa, Sonora, Mexico, writes to me and states that the mint in Alamos was established by Mr. Robert R. Symon, a British subject, and that in later years Mr. Robert R. Symon and Mr. Sebastian Camacho, formed a company under the name of Symon y Camacho and leased the mints of Alamos, Hermosillo, Culiacan and Durango.

On March 1st, 1933, Don Manuel Larraiguibel writes: "No coin could carry any other initials than those of the assayer" and that "Frequently when the dies for the new year were not available, those for the previous year were used."

In the "*Anuario estadístico de la Republica Mexicana*" for 1900, No. 8, and issued by Don Antonio Penafiel, I find the following information having reference to the mint at Hermosillo:

"It seems that the opening of the mint at Hermosillo took place during the year 1852, but the first records of the amounts coined in this mint are dated 1861, in which year, this mint as well as that of Alamos, was leased to private individuals by the state government for a period of twenty years. The terms of the lease were that for the first ten years they could coin gold, silver and copper, without paying revenue to the government, having also the

right of importing free of customs duty all the necessary materials for the operation of these mints, during a similar period. At the end of twenty years the title of the property was automatically to revert back to the state." (Free translation.)

Mr. Robert R. Symon, a British subject, received authority to establish the Hermosillo mint from the local government of Sonora. Later the same privilege was extended to the same individual for the establishment of the Alamos mint. Mr. Symon was ably assisted by Mr. Quintin Douglas, an American engineer, in the establishment and manufacture of the mint machinery. Mr. Manuel Larraguibel in letter of March 30th, 1933, says: "In Alamos we used at the mint a set of large scales, so well constructed that when weighing 30 or 40 kilos (66 to 88 pounds) it would register half a gram (8 grains). These balances were made by Mr. Douglas."

Nothing is mentioned about the revenue that the lessors were to pay during the second ten years of operation, but two facts are definitely established; first that the mint at Alamos was founded in 1861, or at least contracted for, and operations must have begun almost immediately, as Mr. Manuel Larraguibel, the last mint master, in his letter of February 7th, 1933, gives the year of 1862 as the date in which the first minting operations took place in Alamos;

and secondly that the state and not the federal government was responsible for the establishment of these mints.

TYPES OF COINAGE

GOLD

From its inception in 1864,* until June 30th, 1873, this type of coinage consisted in its entirety of "onzas" of eight escudos or as known in Alamos "onzas de a diez y seis" (ounces of sixteen), each escudo being worth two pesos. These onzas were of the type authorized by Act of Congress dated August 1st, 1823, having on the obverse the national arms of Mexico, consisting of the eagle on cactus, facing front, and devouring a serpent; beneath, around the margin and occupying the lower half, two branches united in the center by a bow knot. The branch on the left is oak and the one on the right is olive. On the upper half of the margin are the words **REPUBLICA MEXICANA**.

The reverse presents in the center of the field a forearm, book and staff with liberty cap. Around the margin, upper half, the legend: **LIBERTAD EN LA LEY** (Liberty within the law). On the lower half around the margin: 8 E. (indicative of the value, which is, in this case, eight escudos); A. (the mint mark which in some pieces is represented by a capital "A")

* It is assumed the mint was opened during 1864 as coins bearing an earlier date have not been found.

followed by a lower case "s", or underscored by a dash "A^s."); the date; the minter's initials, and the fineness of the gold expressed in karats (21 quilates).



GOLD EIGHT ESCUDOS

Gold coins of four, two, one and one-half escudos were not coined in Alamos. As stated in another part of this monograph, the official records do not have the amounts of gold minted previous to the fiscal year of 1867-1868 in which 521 onzas were coined.

<i>Fiscal*</i> <i>year</i>	<i>Number</i> <i>coined</i>	<i>Denomi-</i> <i>nation</i>	<i>Amount</i>
1867-68	521	Onzas	\$8,336.00
1868-69	615	"	9,840.00
1869-70	907	"	14,512.00
1870-71	1157	"	18,512.00
1871-72	0	"	—
1872-73	161	"	2,576.00

* Fiscal year has reference to the twelve month period beginning July 1st of one year and ending June 30th of the following one.

During the second half of the year of 1873, or the first part of the fiscal year of 1873-74, the type commonly known as the balances-design was introduced.* With it the metric system was also initiated in all coinage excepting the eight reales and the two reales pieces, which continued to be legal tender in the Republic, the eight reales until 1895 and the two real pieces until 1890.

With the balances-design, the obverse continued the same as in the escudo type of coinage, but the reverse presents in the center of the field a set of scales (a reference to the Judicial Branch of the Government) supported by a scroll in which the word LEY is written, indicative of the constitution and of the Legislative Branch; and a sword slanting from right to left, back of the scroll, signifying the Executive Branch and over all the liberty cap with radiating rays. In the lower portion of the cap is the legend LIBERTAD. There is no motto in the upper part of the field, but in the lower half one reads: the mint mark A^s.; the minter's initials or initial followed by a period (.), then in capitals the value of the coin such as VEINTE PESOS (twenty dollars); DIEZ PESOS (ten dollars); or CINCO PESOS (five

* This information pertains to Alamos only, as the balances-design was brought into existence in all the other mints in 1870, but no doubt, due to the remoteness of Alamos, it was impossible to establish it there before 1874.

dollars); another period (.) and then the fineness expressed in thousandths, which in this type of coinage is .875.



It is worthy of note, that at this time, Mexico was on a gold basis and the gold coins of this epoch represent a value equal to that of similar sized coins of the United States of America.

It is well to call to the attention of the reader that twenty pesos gold pieces were minted only during the fiscal years of 1877 and 1878, which of course, include the second semester of 1876, and the first semester of 1879; that no ten pesos gold pieces were coined during these same fiscal years, while five pesos gold pieces were minted during the fiscal years of 1873-74, 1874-75, and 1877-78 only. Two and a half pesos gold pieces and the one peso in gold common to other mints were never coined in Alamos.

The total amount of gold coined in Alamos from 1867-68 to 1895 when the mint was closed totals

\$596,231.00

ALAMOS

19

Assigning to the fiscal years
1864-65, 1865-66 and 1866-67
the same coinage as that corre-
sponding to the year of 1867-1868
we must add 25,008.00

Giving us a grand total of gold
coined in Alamos of \$621,239.00

GOLD COINED IN ALAMOS ITEMIZED BY YEARS

(See note on the following page)

Fiscal year	\$20.00 Pieces	\$10.00 Pieces	\$5.00 Pieces	Total
1873-74	\$ —	\$ 6,610.00	\$ 2,000.00	\$ 8,610.00
1874-75	—	12,440.00	4,000.00	16,440.00
1875-76	—	6,420.00	—	6,420.00
1876-77	5,520.00	—	—	5,520.00
1877-78	3,320.00	—	1,915.00	5,235.00
1878-79	—	13,700.00	—	13,700.00
1879-80	—	12,120.00	—	12,120.00
1880-81	—	23,240.00	—	23,240.00
1881-82	—	31,720.00	—	31,720.00
1882-83	—	35,600.00	—	35,600.00
1883-84	—	38,590.00	—	38,590.00
1884-85	—	42,510.00	—	42,510.00
1885-86	—	52,190.00	—	52,190.00
1886-87	—	42,000.00	—	42,000.00
1887-88	—	48,230.00	—	48,230.00
1888-89	—	49,730.00	—	49,730.00
1889-90	—	45,580.00	—	45,580.00
1890-91	—	27,900.00	—	27,900.00
1891-92	—	—	—	—
1892-93	—	—	—	—
1893-94	—	15,930.00	—	15,930.00
1894-95	—	21,190.00	—	21,190.00
TOTAL	\$8,840.00	\$525,700.00	\$7,915.00	\$542,455.00



EIGHT REALES

TYPES OF COINAGE: SILVER

From its foundation in 1864 to the year of 1895 when the mint in Alamos was closed, the eight reales pieces minted in Alamos were of the usual or old type authorized by Act of Congress in 1823, which had the obverse as

* This tabulation was obtained from the official publications of the National Treasury of Mexico, but I am quite positive it is not accurate. I have a twenty pesos piece dated 1888, in which year none were supposed to have been coined.

described under the heading of GOLD COINAGE, and for its reverse in the center of the field a liberty cap with rays radiating from it, and the word LIBERTAD on the brim of the cap. Around the margin, lower half, one reads the value expressed in reales (8 R.); the mint mark (either A. or A.^s); the date; the mint-master's initials; and the fineness expressed as 10 D^s. 20 G^s. (10 dineros, 20 granos). As mentioned before the balances-design in the dollar size was never used in Alamos, either because the dies for this type of coinage were not sent or did not arrive on time, for they were minted from 1870 to 1873 inclusive, in all mints of Mexico except Alamos. Mr. Manuel Larraguibel, the last mint-master, in his numerous letters insists that pesos of the balances-design were struck in the Alamos mint; however, after thorough search, neither he nor the compiler has been able to find a single specimen. In 1873 the old or usual type of coinage was resumed throughout Mexico. I am not able to discuss the reason for stopping the coinage of the balances-design, dollar size, just three years after its appearance, but as Mr. Thomas W. Voetter, formerly of the American Consular Service, suggests, it might have been the same reason that brought about the suspension of coinage in the United States of America of the trade dollar. It is quite possible that the Chinese refused to accept it. The itemized figures of the coinage

Alamos are not available previous to the fiscal year of 1874-75 and for the following twenty years it amounted to \$16,312,379.00.

FOUR REALES

These were coined from 1864 until June 30th, 1874, but no itemized record of the yearly coinage is available for each denomination for this period, and all one is able to obtain is the total amount of silver coined, and this only from 1868 on. The type used in this denomination was similar to the eight reales pieces, but proportionately smaller. It has not been my privilege to see a single specimen of this denomination, nor have I located one of them in any of the sales catalogues consulted.



FIFTY CENTAVOS

Beginning July 1st, 1874, all the coins minted in Alamos excepting the eight reales pieces, were struck with new dies made to conform to

the existent regulations adopting the metric system. Thus the four reales piece became the fifty centavos piece. The new dies were of the balances-design described in the section pertaining to gold coins, with the following variation on the reverse: the legend around the margin reads 50 CENTAVOS, immediately after the mint mark; then the minter's initial; and last, one finds the fineness expressed in thousandths, 902.7. Coining of the fifty centavos pieces was discontinued June 30th, 1886. Specimens of this denomination are quite common. In my own collection I have five of them corresponding to the years 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878 and 1880.



TWO REALS

These were also minted from 1864 to June 30th, 1874, using dies of the old design. I have a single specimen of this type and denomination dated 1872, minter's initials A. M. They ceased to be legal tender in 1890. No yearly record of amount coined is available.



TWENTY-FIVE CENTAVOS

This piece supplanted the two reales variety. The dies used were of the balances-design and were similar to the fifty centavos piece except for the size, and the legend which reads 25 CENTAVOS. No record has been found of any specimen sold at auction or catalogued in any collection. Mr. Thomas W. Voetter has a twenty-five centavos piece of the balances-design, dated 1885, and I have four dated 1875, 1883, 1886 and 1890. See table for amounts coined.

ONE REAL

I have seen two specimens in Mexican collections of the one real pieces minted in Alamos, carrying the usual old design of the upright eagle on cactus on one side and the liberty cap with radiating rays on the other. A real was equivalent to twelve and a half cents. This type was discontinued June 30th, 1874, at which time this denomination was superseded by the ten centavos piece. No record of the amount coined is available.



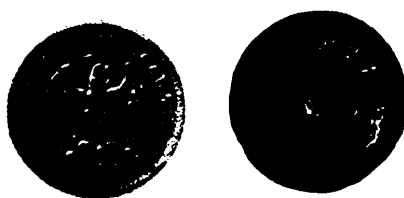
TEN CENTAVOS

The obverse presents in the center of the field the eagle in the upright position, with the snake held with the claws of the right leg and the beak. The eagle stands on a cactus growing in a small mound. The legend reads *REPUBLICA MEXICANA*. In the lower half, under the mound, is the date of mintage. The reverse shows in the upper margin the mint mark (*As.*), the minter's initial, and the fineness expressed in thousandths, 902.7. In the center of the field a large 10, and under it the word *CENTAVOS*. The lower margin presents the two branches, of oak on the left and of olive on the right, united in the center by a bow knot. During the years 1876, 1877 and 1878 there was no coinage of ten centavos pieces and the last year of mintage was the fiscal year of 1893-94. The total amount coined of this denomination was \$51,317.70. See table for the amounts minted each year.

HALF REAL

The medio-real pieces were coined from 1864 to June 30th, 1874, but I have never seen one of them. They were of the usual old design,

similar to the one real pieces but proportionately smaller. Upon the adoption of the metric system, these pieces were superseded by the cinco-centavos pieces. No record of the individual yearly coinage is available. I consider the four, two, one and half real pieces of Alamos mint extremely rare. This is not the case with the fifty, twenty-five, ten and five centavos pieces, of this same mint, which are more or less common.



FIVE CENTAVOS

It is similar in every respect to the ten centavos variety, except for being smaller in size and carrying a large 5 in the center of the reverse side. Coinage of this denomination began in 1874 and continued until 1895, at which time the mint at Alamos was closed. During the fiscal years of 1876, 1877, 1878, 1882, 1883, 1884 and 1885, coins of this denomination were not minted in Alamos. The total amount coined was \$13,377.60. See table of silver coinage for the yearly output.

OTHER TYPES OF COINAGE

There were no other types coined in Alamos. The nickel coins that came into existence in

other parts of the Republic, were never minted in Alamos.

SIZE AND WEIGHT OF THE COINS MINTED IN ALAMOS
(Author's collection)

GOLD		
<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Diameter</i>	<i>Weight</i>
8 Escudos	37 mm.	27 gm.
20 Pesos	34 mm.	34 gm.
10 Pesos	27 mm.	17 gm.
5 Pesos	21 mm.	8½ gm.
SILVER		
8 Reales	39 mm.	26½ gm.
2 Reales	25 mm.	6½ gm.
50 Centavos	31 mm.	13½ gm.
25 Centavos	25 mm.	6¾ gm.
10 Centavos	17 mm.	2½ gm.
5 Centavos	14 mm.	1½ gm.

OFFICIALS OF THE MINT

Besides the director or mint master, there was also a federal auditor whose official title was that of "interventor," an assayer, and an engraver. For some unknown reason, some of the coins minted had the mint-master's initial or initials, and others minted the same year, but of different denomination carried the initials of the interventor. The alternations were most likely a personal equation, pre-arranged between themselves, a courtesy perhaps, that one was willing to extend to the other, but light on this point has not come to

me through any source. In the gold and silver coinage of the balances-design, only one initial appears. Mr. Larraguibel insists that the only initials authorized to appear on any coinage were those of the assayer.

DATE OF CLOSING OF THE MINT

The Alamos mint was closed by order of the federal government on the last day of June of 1895. The machinery and dies were sent to the mint at Culiacan, State of Sinaloa. The building occupied by the mint continued as the federal assay office and the officers of the mint were retained until 1911, and discontinued after that.

THE MINT BUILDING

The building was located on the corner of "Calle de las Flores" and "Callejon de la Casa de Moneda." This street is only two blocks long. After the government had given up the federal assay office, the building was then purchased by D. Reynaldo Ramos, who by using more modern methods of assaying was able to obtain from the discarded tailings left in and around the old mint, a sufficient profit to repay him for his labors. There was also a period in which the whole lot occupied by the mint was excavated to a considerable depth in the belief that there might be a buried treasure, frequent-

ly found in the old houses of the city of Alamos. In the latter part of the month of December 1927, it rained in Alamos twenty-four inches in seventy-two hours, and this as well as the excavations that had preceded, caused the walls



EDIFICE OF THE ALAMOS MINT

of the old edifice to crumble. So, today, April 25th, 1933, nothing remains. The useable wood and iron work were transported by Mr. Ramos to Navojoa and used in the construction of another building.

COPPER COINAGE

The copper coinage of the Alamos mint consisted of one centavo pieces only, and it took place during two fiscal years only, as follows:

1875-76	\$ 405.00
1880-81	1,250.00
	<hr/>
	\$1,655.00

(Cont. p. 32.)

MEXICAN MINTS

SILVER COINED IN ALAMOS, ITEMIZED

Fiscal year	8 reales (\$1.00)	4 reales (0.50)	2 reales (0.25)
1867-68	\$ —	\$ —	\$ —
1868-69	—	—	—
1869-70	—	—	—
1870-71	—	—	—
1871-72	—	—	—
1872-73	—	—	—
1873-74	—	—	—
1874-75	927,639.00	1,521.00	16,424.25
1875-76	647,364.00	116,739.00	7,377.50
1876-77	902,180.00	17,934.00	—
1877-78	1,028,311.00	13,081.00	9,191.75
1878-79	731,244.00	16,219.50	7,730.00
1879-80	828,749.00	17,380.00	3,712.00
1880-81	857,097.00	37,270.00	9,370.25
1881-82	1,054,753.00	—	8,471.00
1882-83	944,509.00	—	8,981.25
1883-84	1,266,419.00	3,143.00	17,286.00
1884-85	1,018,537.00	—	3,237.00
1885-86	749,408.00	10,269.00	10,001.75
1886-87	799,256.00	—	1,413.75
1887-88	574,070.00	—	3,080.00
1888-89	427,700.00	—	6,620.00
1889-90	424,700.00	—	7,700.00
1890-91	511,500.00	—	—
1891-92	512,340.00	—	—
1892-93	442,800.00	—	—
1893-94	895,300.00	—	—
1894-95	768,503.00	—	—
TOTALS	\$16,312,379.00	\$233,556.50	\$120,596.50

* For the years 1864, 1865 and 1867 no known record coined are available.

ALAMOS

31

BY YEARS FROM 1874 TO 1895*

1 real (10 cents)	$\frac{1}{2}$ real (5 cents)	Total silver coined
\$ —	\$ —	\$ 609,253.00
—	—	809,813.00
—	—	853,938.00
—	—	1,017,889.00
—	—	783,321.00
—	—	894,474.25
—	—	782,353.10
1,791.30	1,429.20	948,804.75
—	—	771,480.50
—	—	920,114.00
—	—	1,050,583.75
1,007.80	396.85	756,598.15
2,240.10	610.00	852,691.10
1,311.50	614.45	905,663.20
1,207.90	—	1,064,431.90
1,795.20	—	955,285.45
6,092.00	—	1,292,940.00
2,076.00	—	1,023,850.00
3,741.70	860.70	774,281.15
2,274.20	1,306.40	804,250.35
1,500.00	1,000.00	579,650.00
4,780.00	2,000.00	441,100.00
2,000.00	900.00	435,300.00
3,000.00	1,000.00	515,500.00
7,500.00	860.00	520,700.00
9,000.00	200.00	452,000.00
—	1,200.00	896,500.00
—	1,000.00	769,503.00
\$51,317.70	\$13,377.60	\$22,482,268.65

exists. From 1868 to 1875 inclusive only the total amounts

ONE CENTAVO

These were 27 mm. in diameter and the obverse was similar to that of the five and ten centavos pieces, but proportionately larger. The reverse presents a wreath made of two branches tied below by a bow knot. In the center in four lines: UN CENTAVO, the date, and the mint mark. These pieces are extremely rare and I have not had the privilege of seeing a single specimen in other collections.*



COPPER COINAGE OF MEXICO

The first copper coins issued in Mexico, which at the time was known as New Spain, were those ordered struck by the Viceroy

* In the Adolph Hess sale of the Ulex collection, held on May 11th, 1908, items 1860-1861, page 75, were three one cent pieces of the Alamos mint dated 1874 and 1876.

During the War of Independence, 1810 to 1821, the insurgent leaders resorted to the coinage of copper when their resources did not permit them to coin silver. Thus we have the Morelos coinage, so ably described by Dr. Nicolas Leon and by Mr. Lyman Low.* There is also the copper coinage of Osorno described



* American Journal of Numismatics, Vol. 21, p. 17ff.; Vol. 29, p. 10ff.

† *Apuntes Biograficos Historicos*. Mexico City 1932.

period of Mexican history, but no record is available of the quantity placed in circulation.

The colonial government after what occurred in 1537 did not coin copper again until 1814. Among the grave and difficult problems then confronting it none was more important than the question of financing the war against the insurgents. For some time it had been planned to prohibit the use of tokens and store-cards. These the merchants and grocers were in the habit of issuing in whatever quantity they desired, to facilitate commercial transactions under a half or a quarter real which were the smallest silver pieces coined by the colonial government. In addition to tokens and store-cards (also known as "Hacienda" pieces) cacao beans, pieces of soap, and small wooden tablets stamped with a trademark were also used as money or as aids to exchange. Many abuses were registered. The government had tried to put a stop to the circulation of the private issues, but owing to the fact that there was nothing to take the place of fractions under "cuartillas" great difficulties were encountered.*

To remedy existing abuses, and also to increase the resources of the colony, the Viceroy Calleja authorized copper coins placed in circulation. This edict was made public the 23rd of August, 1814. The amount coined was

* Zamacois. *Historia de Mexico*, Vol. IX, p. 592.

three hundred thousand dollars. The merchants refused to accept the new copper pieces, but the proclamation published December 20th, 1814, determining the proportion of copper coin legally acceptable in each transaction, and also fixing the fines and other penalties for those refusing to comply, expedited their acceptance.*

After the separation of Mexico from Spain, copper was not coined in large amounts by either the national or state governments. The quantity coined was restricted to a minimum sufficient for commercial transactions. At this time the states were authorized by the national government to issue their own coinage. From 1833 to 1837 the copper coinage of the Republic reached the huge sum of seven million dollars, which, added to an almost equally large sum of counterfeits and to various large amounts being daily added to the overburdened market, made a total of fourteen million pesos in copper money.†

The Mexican government could not fail to recognize the necessity of withdrawing the copper money from circulation, but nothing was done until 1841 at which time Santa-Anna became the chief magistrate of the nation. He proposed to remedy this evil by recalling all of the copper that had been minted up to that time, and in this way put an end to counter-

* *Gazeta de Mexico*, December 22, 1814.

† Zamacois. *Historia de Mexico*, Vol. XII, pp. 248-249.

feiting. Thus on November 4th, 1841, the following decree was published:

ARTICLE ONE

A new coin of an eighth of a "real" shall be minted weighing one half ounce; the figure of liberty to be on the obverse and on the reverse a wreath with the value of the coin in the center. Around the margin
REPUBLICA MEXICANA.

ARTICLE TWO

The secular and regular clergy, brotherhoods, chaplains, pious workers, executors, etc., must deliver immediately to the treasury department, revenue tax offices, state or municipal tax collectors, all of the copper money in their possession.

ARTICLE THREE

The amounts turned in will be returned in new money within six months of the time received, unless arrangements have been made to the contrary.

ARTICLE FOUR

Private interests, be they individuals or corporations, will deposit for exchange in the offices named in Article Two all of their copper coins.

ARTICLE FIVE

As soon as the mint has a sufficient amount of the new copper money it will proceed to reimburse the amounts deposited for exchange in compliance with the foregoing articles, and it will also remit to the national treasury the part belonging to the government.

ARTICLE SIX

The copper money, which by virtue of this decree, is to be withdrawn from circulation, will cease to be legal tender thirty days after the publication of this decree in the Department of Mexico and sixty days after publication in the other departments (states). After this period, holders of the old copper coins cannot claim indemnity for the loss that they might suffer for not having availed themselves of the opportunity offered in Articles Three, Four and Five of this decree, and it is hoped that the interested parties, for the public good as well as their own, will assist the government in carrying out these measures.

ARTICLE SEVEN

The penalties prescribed by the existent laws to punish counterfeiters will continue in effect, but shall be more rigidly enforced.

While this law was timely and desirable, it created untold hardships on the poor, and the interests of honest merchants suffered greatly, as all were deprived of a certain quantity of money at a time when the country was in narrow straits. The government's credit was not very good, the people distrusted the measure, and the result was that the majority preferred to take a chance with the old money rather than with the promises of a bankrupt and unstable government. It would have been much better to have coined previous to the publication of the above decree a sufficient

amount of the new copper coins to take care of the exchanges upon presentation without waiting six months and causing confusion among all parties concerned.

This law did away with the coinage issued by Mr. Santoyo in Sonora, which in my estimation amounted to 540,000 pieces of "cuartillas" or \$16,875.00 pesos. As Mr. Santoyo did not have machinery, he had to stamp his coins by means of hand punches. His coining activities covered a period of six years, from 1832 to 1837 inclusive. Figuring a year at 300 days, we find he had 1800 working days and during each day with the primitive methods used to make the planchets, cut the disks and stamp them, I judge Mr. Santoyo was able to finish approximately three hundred. This will give us an estimate of 540,000 pieces coined, at three and one-eighth cents a piece, giving the total value coined as \$16,875.00. In the State of Sonora, as well as in other states of the union, copper had been coined in large quantities, more with the idea of obtaining personal gain than to provide for the need of commercial transactions. Mr. Leonardo Santoyo coined "cuartillas" or "cuartos de real" in Alamos and Hermosillo from 1828 to 1837 and no record is to be found of the amount coined. The mint at Hermosillo was established in 1851 and no record of its coinage in any metal is to be found anywhere until 1861. During the year of 1861, \$35,228.86

was struck in copper coins in the mint at Hermosillo, and the following year \$38,220.98 was coined in the same mint of the same metal, a total of \$73,449.84 in "cuartillas."

The copper coins in circulation in the state of Sonora (of its own mintage as well as of neighboring states) had well nigh reached the limit of the district's capacity for absorption. The amounts known to have been coined in these two years in a state having 130,000 population (mostly Indians) made the average per head excessive and burdensome. Merchants were compelled to retail their goods for copper coins which they could not dispose of except at a heavy discount, as the law limited the amount acceptable as legal tender. By 1867 this state of affairs had become a serious problem, and to solve it two steps were taken by the governor and military commander, Don Ignacio Pesqueira, one of the most colorful characters of the state's history.

The first step was to stop coinage of copper until such a time as commercial transactions justified its resumption. This was a healthy measure that helped all classes. The poor with a meager income of a few cents a day, seldom earned more than seven dollars a month and had practically nothing else to use as medium of exchange. The rich were safeguarded from becoming the sole and unwilling hoarders of this undesirable and unwanted currency. The

price of commodities was stabilized and an era of freedom from copper money worries ensued and this lasted until the Republic was able to establish the sound monetary laws of Finance Minister Limantour in 1905. In only two instances did it become necessary to resort to copper coinage between 1862 and 1905. The mint at Hermosillo coined copper during the year of 1880 amounting to \$1,024.00, and during the year of 1881, \$4,586.00—both amounts in one centavo pieces. In the Alamos mint copper was coined from 1874 to 1876, \$495.00 in one centavo pieces, and again in 1880-81, \$1,250.00 in the same denomination, for a total amount of \$1,745.00. Thus the total amount coined in both places reached the moderate figure of \$7,355.00.

The second measure consisted in declaring illegal the circulation of copper coinage in the state. This was accomplished without creating a hardship upon the holders of such coinage in the following manner:

Ignacio Pesqueira, Governor and Military Commander of the free and sovereign State of Sonora, to his constituents, be it known that:

WHEREAS the copper currency has been a source of constant speculation in the state, and has drained the fountains of public wealth, and impoverished to an alarming degree the agricultural, industrial, commercial and mining interests, and last but not least

the working people, most deserving of the solicitous consideration of the existent government;

WHEREAS previous regulations have not been sufficient to prevent stock-jobbing, scalping and monopoly;

WHEREAS it is absolutely essential to remove by its roots the evil that has wrought havoc to the farms, villages and towns of this state:

Therefore by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and by special prerogatives granted by the federal government, I, *Ignacio Pesqueira*, Governor and Military Commander of the State, prescribe the following regulations for the relief of the above mentioned calamity:

ARTICLE ONE

This government imposes a forced loan of forty-five thousand dollars, upon the following individuals to provide for a sinking fund, with which it will be possible to withdraw from circulation the copper currency in existence in the state. This loan is to be proportioned by counties. (Here follows a list of names and the amounts assessed against each of them showing a grand total of \$45,000.00.)

ARTICLE TWO

This loan will be payable in three installments; the first being due eight days after the publication of this decree in the district affected, the second is to be paid eight days after the first installment has

become due, and the third, eight days after the second installment becomes due.

ARTICLE THREE

The payments as mentioned in the second article will be payable to the respective committee named to function in each district. The committees will extend to the payers a receipt which will be exchanged later for one issued by the secretary of the treasury. (Here follow the names of the respective members of each of the county committees.)

ARTICLE FOUR

In case of delay in the payment of this loan, the committee shall notify the collector of internal revenue, who in turn shall apply the penalty prescribed by law.

ARTICLE FIVE

In the time and form judged the most appropriate, the government will transfer these funds to adequate points to begin rendering inalienable and permanently out of circulation the copper coinage.

ARTICLE SIX

To reintegrate this loan one fourth of the revenue of the Guaymas Custom House is hereby pledged and assigned.

ARTICLE SEVEN

The exchange of copper coins for gold or silver shall cease within forty days after the publication of this decree, and after that time copper coinage will cease to be legal tender.

ARTICLE EIGHT

The respective committees in charge of collecting the assigned amounts in the counties of Hermosillo and Ures are hereby authorized to exchange copper coinage paying two-thirds of its face value in silver or gold.

The only compensation authorized for the committees shall be one and a half per cent of the total sum of gold and silver collected by the respective committee.

ARTICLE NINE

The committees shall render accurate accounts of the amounts of gold and silver collected and also of the copper coins exchanged to the collector of customs of the state, said accounts to be certified by the sheriff and military commander of the county.

ARTICLE TEN

The government shall order the melting of the copper coins so exchanged into bars for its disposal as bullion.

ARTICLE ELEVEN

The persons and private or municipal corporations that by virtue of a previous agreement are bound to pay a debt in copper coin, at a time when the circulation of this type of coin has been prohibited and declared illegal, shall make such payment in gold or silver at the rate specified by article eight of this decree.

This decree shall be proclaimed, printed and circulated for its due observance. Issued at Hermosillo, the nineteenth of June of the year 1867.

Signed: I. Pesqueira.

Thus from 1862 to 1880, excepting \$495.00 coined in Alamos during the years of 1874, 75



and 76, the State of Sonora was free of copper coinage. The "tlacos" or tokens were brought into existence when commercial transactions made it necessary, but in Sonora, where all business firms resorting to this form of script were usually quite trustworthy and responsible, this phase did not cause the hardships and tribulations more frequently experienced in the larger cities of states not so isolated.

HERMOSILLO

HISTORICAL SKETCH

The city of Hermosillo is the county seat of the district or county of the same name, and also capital of the State of Sonora. It is located on the left bank of the Sonora River at $29^{\circ} 17' 46''$ north latitude and $111^{\circ} 8' 58''$ west longitude of the meridian of Mexico.* The city itself has a population of approximately 15,000 inhabitants.

The first historical reference to the site now occupied by the city of Hermosillo, at the time a small colony of farmers (rancheria) known by various names (San Diego del Pitquin; Santísima Trinidad de Pitquin; and Pitquin) is given in book three, page 32, of "*Las Misiones de Sonora y Arizona*" which comprises the manuscripts of Fr. Eusebio Francisco Kino (Kuhn) the revered missionary who made possible the discovery of the Californias. This citation is dated October 1694, but the city's existence, while not mentioned previously, must have been known to Kino as early as 1687, for if one follows his explorations, one can easily discern this to have been the case. To Juan Matheo Mange, the Captain who accompanied Fr. Kino, we are indebted for a better description to the site. In his "*Diario de Las Explora-*

* *Geografía de Sonora*, p. 30. José María Perez Hernandez.

ciones en Sonora" page 334, he says: "There are other rivers; the sources of one being in the plains of Terrenate and Cananea at 32°, and as it flows south it supplies the townships of Bacuachi and Cinapa; there is another that arises from the valley of Bacanuche, it follows a southeastern course, unites with the first river mentioned at Arizpe and fertilizes the whole Sonora Valley, irrigating the townships of Senoquipe, Banamichi, Guepaca, Aconiche, Bavia, Cora, Ures, to Pitquin, where it unites with another river that has its source higher than 30° which follows a southwardly course and irrigates the townships of Dolores, the first of the missions of the Pimeria Alta, Cucurpe, Tuape, Opodepe, Nucameri, Populo and Angeles; then it unites with that one of the Pitquin, as has been said, where there exists the great stone mountain known as 'La Campana' (the bell)." The name, according to Velasco, was given to this hill, around which Hermosillo is built, because upon striking the rock with another rock it emits a metallic sound similar to that given by a bell.

Until 1741 Hermosillo was known as Pitic. At this time a *presidio* (fort) was ordered by the Viceroy Don Pedro de Castro y Figueroa, Duque de la Conquista to be constructed at Pitic, and no doubt Don Agustin Vildosola, then Governor ad-interim, substituted the name of San Pedro de la Conquista for Pitic

in adulation of the Viceroy, hoping in doing so to win favor.

In 1744 the governor received from the viceroy an order to discontinue the presidios of Pitic and of Terrenate. This order was based on royal instructions to cut down expenses. On June 24th, 1744, Governor Vildosola who had been residing in Pitic protested against this order and declared his intention to disobey it until the viceroy could consider his arguments which must have been strong and effective as the presidios were not abolished. In 1748 the viceroy sent José Rafael Rodríguez Gallardo as Visitador General (Inspector General) and he moved the presidio of Pitic to San Miguel de Horcasitas where it remained a few years. Later it was brought back to Pitic, but as the group of soldiers in the garrison had received the name of "Compañía de Horcasitas" (Horcasitas Company) upon moving they carried the name with them, and Pitic, then only a garrison, became known as Horcasitas. This last name, however, never became official.

On the fifth of September 1828, the Congress of the State of Occidente, in a proclamation (No. 77) changed the name of Pitic to Hermosillo, in memory of General Don José María González Hermosillo, who according to Morales was born in Pitic, and who received his commission and two promotions directly from Don

Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, father of the independence of Mexico. In 1830, when the State of Occidente was dissolved and Sonora became an autonomous unit, Hermosillo was selected as capital, but during 1833 the capital was moved to Arizpe, and from Arizpe it was changed to Ures several times between 1841 and 1847. However, by proclamation of the legislature of August 19th, 1843, Hermosillo was declared the capital of the state. This decree was not enforced and the capital remained in Ures until 1879, when it was definitely and permanently moved to Hermosillo, where it has since remained.

A very important event, not only for Hermosillo, but for the state as a whole, and for this narrative in particular, is the fact that the contractor and lessee as well as founder of the mints of Alamos and Hermosillo, Mr. Robert R. Symon, and his co-worker, Mr. Santiago Camacho, were the builders of the railroad that extends from Guaymas to Nogales, passing through Ortiz, Hermosillo and Magdalena. As was seen in the narrative of the Alamos mint, the firm of Symon and Camacho had been prominent in leasing and operating the mints of Sonora and Sinaloa, buying the concession for a mere pittance and earning a huge fortune out of the transaction. Building a railroad was not an impossible undertaking for men whose wealth had been acquired so easily. Although

several individuals or companies had previously obtained the same concession, for one reason or another they had done nothing, and their rights had been forfeited. Messrs. Symon and Camacho started work on the proposed railroad line months before they were granted the concession and if they benefited by the leasing of the mints and by the construction of the railroad, so did the state. Today any unbiased individual cannot help admiring the enterprising spirit of these two men, who so greatly contributed to the political and economical advancement of the State of Sonora.

HISTORY OF THE MINT

In the annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury to Congress dated February of 1844, page 28, he says: "The federal government in order to prevent the constant smuggling of gold and silver that was taking place from the States of Sonora and Sinaloa through the seaports of Guaymas and Mazatlan, issued an order whereby the export duty on metals was considerably reduced, but the miners complained of the enormous distance from their mines to the existent mints, the risk involved in transportation and the subsequent delay at the mint, and as no gold or silver was allowed to be exported unless coined, smuggling continued. In order to stop this leakage, the federal government

by Presidential Proclamation dated February 16th, 1842, ordered the resumption of the mint at Hermosillo (closed since 1835), and encouraged the state government to promote the establishment of this mint, authorizing the state to levy a forced loan, or to enter into an agreement with private interests or individuals, to bring about the desired results, notifying the federal government about the conclusions reached, for its official endorsement." (Free translation.) This order has reference to the private coining operations of Mr. Santoyo during the years 1832 to 1837, which were carried on in a most primitive manner by means of hand punches. The central government considered this establishment a true mint, but realizing that it might not be an efficient one, authorized the state to negotiate a loan or to enter into an agreement with private parties, whereby an adequately equipped mint could be operated in Hermosillo. However, nothing was done about the re-establishing of the mint in that city until 1851, and the State of Sonora did not coin money in any metal from the year 1837 until the mint was re-opened in Hermosillo in 1851.

As was said when dealing with the history of the mint of Alamos, the mint in Hermosillo was established in 1851 by Mr. Robert R. Symon and his co-workers, Mr. Sebastian Camacho and Mr. Quintin Douglas. The mint

was leased for a period of twenty years beginning in 1851 and ending 1871. All my efforts to obtain a copy of this lease have been futile, but it was my good fortune to discover a piece of information given by Mr. Antonio Peñafiel who found that the mint at Hermosillo began operations in 1852. The existence of such operations was unknown to the treasury department at Mexico City until 1861, as no reports were sent to the federal government previous to that time. This is not strange; at that particular period of Mexican history the states functioned as sovereign and independent units and had the right to legislate and issue their own coinage. It is also not surprising that the records of mintage of both Alamos and Hermosillo are not found in the archives of the State of Sonora, because from 1830 to 1885 the state was in a constant turmoil, having to combat the Apache Indians on the north, the Yaqui Indians on the south, and having besides to put up with constant strife of warring political parties, certain of which burned priceless records in order to escape prosecution. At any rate, the mint of Hermosillo was leased to private individuals until 1871 or 1872, and neither the state nor the federal government derived any revenue for the first ten years, nor, so far as is known, for the second ten years.

From reports sent to Congress, September 28th, 1868, by Mr. Matias Romero, then Secre-

tary of the Treasury, we learn the following:

1. That the State of Sonora entered into a contract with Mr. Robert R. Symon, leasing the mints of Hermosillo and Alamos for a period of twenty years beginning January 3, 1851.

2. The state guaranteed the lessee that no federal, state, or municipal taxes were to be assessed against the lessee for the first ten years, and only one per cent for the second ten years.

3. The state was to allow the importation free of duty of the machinery, implements, reagents, etc. needed in the erection and to be used in the operation of the proposed mints.

4. The state was to permit the unlimited coinage of gold, silver and copper.

5. The lessee promised to purchase at his own expense the necessary machinery, implements, reagents, etc. for the establishment and the successful operation of a mint at each one of the cities mentioned. (Alamos and Hermosillo.)

6. At the termination of the contract the lessee promised to turn over to the state the mint machinery, implements, reagents, etc. which from then on would become state property.

During the French intervention in Mexico (1864–1867) the State of Sonora was in part occupied by the Imperialist forces (chiefly the cities of Hermosillo and Alamos) and as the Imperial Government, with Maximilian at its head, did not approve of the terms formerly agreed upon by the Republican State Govern-

ment, it became necessary for the lessee to go to Mexico City and make new arrangements with the sub-Secretary of the Imperial Treasury, Don Esteban Villalba. No copy of this document is obtainable. At the expiration of the original lease made by the State of Sonora with Mr. Robert R. Symon, and which I believe ended in 1871, Mr. Symon turned over the mints of Hermosillo and Alamos to the federal government. This act was in compliance with the terms of the original lease, in which it was stipulated that after twenty years the machinery, implements, chemicals, etc. would become the property of the nation. But the federal government, for reasons unknown to me, was unable to operate these mints at a profit, and it showed an operating loss each year. This peculiar circumstance, was the chief reason for leasing the mints anew (1876) to a company headed by Mr. Symon, as can be seen by the following Presidential Proclamation:

SEBASTIAN LERDO DE TEJADA

Constitutional President of the United States
of Mexico, to his constituents:

BE IT KNOWN

that by virtue of the prerogative extended by the Law of April 28th, of the present year, the Executive decrees the following:

ARTICLE ONE

The contract of this same date, made by the minister of Finance with the firm Robert R. Symon & Company, leasing to the latter the mints of Hermosillo, Alamos and Culiacan, is hereby approved.

Therefore this order shall be printed, published and circulated to be complied with in due manner.

Given at the National Governmental Palace at the City of Mexico, this twenty-ninth day of August of the year 1876.

Signed—Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada.

Shortly after this contract was made known to the public, the newspapers of Sonora and Sinaloa engaged in a bitter controversy opposing the leasing of the mints to private individuals, claiming that the mining interests of the two states would suffer; also, that the federal treasury would sustain a heavy loss, as the three mints had been leased for a period of three and a half years for only *twenty thousand dollars*. Foremost among the oppositionists was the newspaper '*El Occidental*' edited at Mazatlan, Sinaloa, which in its number of October 7th, 1876, had a scorching article criticizing the leasing of the mints to private individuals. This attack was not left unanswered by the men in power, and in the '*Boletin Oficial*' of the State of Sonora, published in the city of Ures,

then capital of the state, in its edition of October 27th, 1876, there appeared the following counter-attack under the heading of "*Casas de Moneda*" (Mints):

"The opposition newspaper '*El Occidental*' published in Mazatlan, in its number of the 7th instant charges that the federal government has made a grave mistake in leasing the mints of Hermosillo, Alamos, and Culiacan, and that this act will create a hardship to the miners and mining industry.

"We believe that there is no basis to this charge, and we are positive that in leasing the said establishments, the federal government has taken into consideration and consulted the economic side of the problem as well as the public welfare.

"Since the last lease expired the government took over the aforementioned mints and from that time an ever increasing operating expense and loss has been reported in connection with these mints. So the government in leasing them for twenty thousand dollars for a three and a half year period, will not only be saving itself additional expenses and losses, but in reality will be that much money ahead.

"On the other hand, the taxes on the mining industry will continue the same as before; so, where is this terrific blow, that according to the newspaper '*El Occidental*' the Mexican miner will receive?

“Frankly, we are unable to understand the marked opposition of the last few days to every act of the National Executive, creating imaginary wrong doings for which there is no foundation. The object cannot be other than to mislead the unsuspecting public, and to bring about dissension among the gullible, and thus start a war of personalities. In short, this seems to be the motive impelling the press of the opposition which usually is against the legitimate aspirations of the Mexican people.” The above information was obtained from the archives of the State of Sonora through the courtesy of Mr. Rodolfo Tapia in charge of the “*Tesoreria General del Estado*” (State Treasury) and of Mr. Ramon E. Corral, clerk in charge of the archives. It was transmitted to the *Secretaria de Hacienda y Credito Publico, Departamento de Biblioteca, Archivos y Publicaciones* (Treasury Department) of the Republic, with which the author has been in constant correspondence for a period of over two years. The treasury department in turn transcribed the information given to the Hon. Director of the Mint at Mexico City, and on the second of June, 1933, the following response was sent:

“In reference to the copy of the contracts asked for, allow us to inform you that they do not exist in this office. It may appear strange that these documents are not to be found in the archives of the government, but from unofficial

sources the Director of the Mint has learned that when the government rescinded the contracts in 1893, the lessees were allowed to take the contracts pertaining to each mint." (Free translation.)

It is hardly credible that the contract entered into for a period of three and a half years and expiring in 1879 or 1880 would have been given back to the lessee in 1893 unless extended in the meantime. However, after two and a half years of effort one must accept this answer as final. Perhaps in a not distant future these documents will come to light, as it is my belief that these documents exist.

Let us at this time engage in an estimate that might give us an idea of the possible profit obtained by the leasing firm. The Hon. Matias Romero, Secretary of the Treasury in 1868 and who published his "Geographical and Statistical Notes on Mexico" while in Washington (1898) has this to say about mints and duties on silver, page 27:

"Under the Spanish laws all silver paid a duty; and as most of it was coined, that duty was levied on coinage, and the exportation of bullion was prohibited; but of course a great deal was smuggled, both during the Spanish rule and still more when Mexico was opened to foreign trade after our independence. When I occupied for the first time the Treasury Department of Mexico in 1868, it seemed to me an

outrage against the mining industry of the country to require the miners, especially those who were far removed from the mints, to take their bullion to the mints, and from there to the ports to be exported to London, where it was often again turned into bullion; and as the contracts made with the lessees of the mints did not allow the free exportation of bullion, I proposed and succeeded in having enacted a law for the purpose of allowing bullion to be exported, provided that it paid the coinage duty at the respective customs houses for the benefit of the mint's lessees; and this condition of things, extraordinary as it may seem, was a great relief to the silver producers, and continued until the Mexican government could recover all the mints and be free to legislate on the subject."

"There were thirteen mints in the country to coin the silver extracted from our mines, which, in the precarious condition of the Mexican treasury, were sometimes rented to private parties who advanced a sum that seemed large enough at that time, although it was a trifle in comparison to their profits, as they collected a duty of nearly four and a half per cent upon the amount of bullion coined, and they credited to the government only one and a half per cent of the same."

From the above statements (which one must consider authoritative because of their source)

and the fact that Mexico is one of the largest producers of silver in the world (having produced up to 1900 about half of the world's supply) one can readily see that three per cent of the silver mined went to the lessees of the mint as net profit, as the law that Mr. Romero caused to be enacted, permitted them to collect on the strength of their contracts, without even seeing the metal, without the expenses of minting, collecting, vigilance, and risks. We are entirely in accord with the newspaper '*El Occidental*' when it complained of the leasing of the mints for a period of three and a half years for only twenty thousand dollars, when the profit in any one year was nearly double this amount, as follows:

Total coinage of the mint of Hermosillo for the years 1877, 1878 and 1879.....	\$2,127,810.50
--	----------------

Total coinage in Alamos during the above mentioned period.....	2,822,038.20
--	--------------

Total coined in the mint of Culiacan for the same period..	2,782,136.00
---	--------------

Total coined in the three mints during a period of only three and not three and a half years.....	7,731,984.70
--	--------------

Judging that $4\frac{1}{2}\%$ was charged for coining or duty as allowed by their contracts the amount collected was..... 347,939.31

If from this amount the one and a half per cent had been paid to the government, it would have been..... 115,979.77

As the government only received..... 20,000.00

There was a loss to the national treasury of..... 95,979.77 and this was for a period of three years only. No doubt the loss was much greater because the contract was for three and a half years.

Once before, another Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Bonifacio Gutierrez in 1849 had shown the fallacy in the government's leasing the mints to private individuals. The national treasury lost nearly a million dollars in revenue by leasing three fully equipped mints as is shown by the following:

The mint of Guadalupe y Calvo, was leased for a period of ten years to the *Compañia Mexicana de Guadalupe y Calvo* and exempted of all taxation. It would have paid the government for the first four years of operation the sum of.....\$227,563.96

The mint of Guanajuato was under lease to the *Compañia Anglo-Mexicana* for a period of fourteen years. During the first five years and eight months, due to the onerous terms of the lease, the government sustained a loss of revenue totaling.....\$360,071.18

The 19th of September, 1842 the government leased the mint of Zacatecas to the firm Manning and Marshall for a period of fourteen years. During the first five years and two months the operation of this mint resulted in a loss of revenue to the state amounting to the sum of.....\$332,036.61

From 1842 to 1893 practically all the mints of Mexico were leased, and in every instance the terms of the various contracts were extremely advantageous to the lessees and detrimental to the government. Looking back, all one can see is a total disregard of the country's interests.

The statement made by the official Bulletin of the State of Sonora in defending the action of the government, in leasing the mints of Alamos, Hermosillo and Culiacan—because from 1871 to 1876 there had been an ever increasing operating expense and loss—can be explained only by the incompetency or dishonesty of the political appointees in charge of these mints. Either alternative is a reflection upon the favorites in charge of their operation.

From the records of the Secretary of the Treasury, Francisco Mejia, presented to Congress September 16th, 1875, covering the fiscal year of 1874-75, page 169, the author has obtained the following:

“As I stated a year ago, the government has resumed the operation of ten of the eleven mints, and the only one not taken over by the government is the one at Mexico City, the lease of which will not expire until April 1st, 1877. Since the government took over the operation of the mints there has been a constant increase of revenue derived from this source as can be seen by the following comparative statement:

Revenue obtained by the operation of the mints during

the fiscal year of 1872-73.....	\$259,431.58
the fiscal year of 1873-74.....	410,361.03
the fiscal year of 1874-75.....	942,054.19

The revenue obtained by the government during the fiscal year of 1874-75 is \$682,622.61 more than the government would have received had the mints continued to be leased to private individuals, and when the mint of Mexico City is taken over by the government, the total revenue received from the operation of the mints will by far exceed a million dollars.”

In the same report quoted above, page 170, is found a table giving the net profit for the ten mints of the Republic for the fiscal year of 1874-75 as follows:

For the mint of Alamos.	\$41,454.70
For the mint of Culiacan.	59,721.06
For the mint of Hermosillo. . . .	7,553.81

Where, then, is the "ever increasing operating expense and loss" referred to by the '*Boletín Oficial*'? According to this information, the Treasury Department received during one single year a net profit of \$108,729.57 for the above mentioned mints, and the statement made by the Official Bulletin seems very suspicious. It is unbelievable that with this information on hand, the President of the Republic, Hon. Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada, would have given his official endorsement to a contract by which for the mere trifle of \$20,000 the Government leased three profitable mints for a period of three and a half years, and it is far less excusable for the Secretary of the Treasury, Mejia, to submit the contract of August 9th, 1876, for Presidential approval, knowing well that its terms were unjust to the Republic, and on the face of his own statements of eleven months before, it becomes criminal.

The lesson so clearly pointed out by the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Bonifacio Gutier-

rez, and so costly to the country, was never learned by the rulers of Mexico.

Among the numerous compilers of Mexican numismatics, four stand foremost: Don Manuel Orozco y Berra; Don José M. Garmendia; Don Javier Stavoli and Don Antonio Peñafiel. The four have been accepted by the Mexican Government as authorities on the subject, and the only records in the national archives about coinage are those compiled by these men.

Orozco y Berra has the most complete numismatic history up to 1868; Garmendia from 1874 to 1883; Stavoli from 1883 to 1895; and Peñafiel until 1900. However, the figures quoted by these men show an enormous variance and as an example we shall take the years of 1877-78 and 79 for the mints of Hermosillo, Alamos and Culiacan, and compare just two of them.

Figures given by *Don José M. Garmendia*.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Hermosillo</i>	<i>Alamos</i>	<i>Culiacan</i>
1877	\$ 789,980.58	\$ 925,634.00	\$ 824,202.00
1878	877,998.00	1,055,818.75	886,362.00
1879	557,010.00	770,298.15	941,181.00
Totals	2,224,988.58	2,751,750.90	2,651,745.00
Total amount coined			\$7,628,484.48

As compared with the figures given by *Don Antonio Peñafiel*, we have:

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<i>Year</i>	<i>Hermosillo</i>	<i>Alamos</i>	<i>Culiacan</i>
1877	\$ 814,519.50	\$1,084,186.50	\$ 933,837.00
1878	737,176.00	956,295.40	912,015.00
1879	576,125.00	781,556.30	936,284.00
<hr/>			
Totals	\$2,127,820.50	\$2,822,038.20	\$2,782,136.00
	Total amount coined \$7,731,994.70		

showing a difference between the two of \$103,510.22 for the three years. This being the case, to which shall the student of Mexican numismatics turn in search of reliable information? As each man worked at different periods it is reasonable to suppose that he was correct on the figures obtained during his term of office. I have used in this monograph the figures of all four, and I have accepted the figures given by Messrs. Garmendia and Stavoli as the most dependable for their particular period because they were at the head of the department of coinage at the time.

Let us go a step further and consider the approximate cost of the mint in Hermosillo. The mint building and machinery of Culiacan had cost the government in the neighborhood of \$40,000.00 and judging by the total yearly coinage which is so similar in these three houses, the plant at Hermosillo cost the lessees that much. Not having available the amount of coinage for the first nine years we shall take the coinage of 1861-62 as typical of the coinage in the previous years and multiplied by nine

66 MEXICAN MINTS

we obtain the total approximate coinage for the period 1851-1861 of \$1,959,109.83.

And had the lessee paid the customary $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ duty assignable to the government, it would have been.....\$29,386.65

And as the coinage of copper for the years of 1861 and 1862, amounted to \$73,449.84, and having in my possession coins of this mint of 1859 and 1860 it is justifiable to assume that at least an equal amount was coined in the two previous years.....\$73,449.84

Deducting from this amount 10% for the metal and cost of coinage.....\$7,344.98

One can assume that the net profit on this coinage was not less than..... \$66,104.86

Which gives an approximate net profit to the lessee of..... 95,491.51

Deducting the original cost of the machinery, etc..... 40,000.00

Leaving a net gain on what the lessee would have paid to the government had the one and a half per cent been imposed upon him as was customary in the other mints. \$55,491.51

As I said previously this is only an estimate

and for this reason I have exaggerated the expense side of the account considerably, and on the other hand, I have taken the minimum production. It is very probable that the machinery did not cost over \$20,000.00 and while it was propelled by steam engines, it was quite rudimentary and not at all expensive. In this connection, it is well to bring before readers the fact just related to me by Don Julio Bouchet, an old resident of Hermosillo, that the first time the machinery was placed in operation, they blew the whistle, and as the people of the town had never heard anything like it, it created considerable commotion.

The assayers of the mint were:

Florencio Monteverde—Initials used: F.M.
From 1861 to 1867

Pablo Rubio—Initials used: P.R. From 1867
to 1876 (Also "R")

Alejandro Fourcade—Initials used: A.F.
From 1876 to 1878 (Also "F")

Jesus Acosta—Initials used: J.A. From
1878 to 1883 (Also "A")

Fernando Mendez—Initials used: F.M. From
1883 to 1885

Fausto Gaxiola—Initials used: F.G. From
1885 to 1895 (Also "G")

Among the directors of the mint were Don Florencio Monteverde; Don Felizardo Torres; Guillermo Parrodi and Don Gustavo Torres. They were really federal auditors, but I have

not been able to find the year or years in which each one served in that capacity. Among the employees were Zenobio Garcia, José Salazar and a man by the name of Padrés.

TYPES OF COINAGE

The same types of coinage as given under Alamos were minted in Hermosillo. This applies to the gold, silver and copper coins. Pesos of the balances-type were never minted in Hermosillo. The only difference that existed was in the copper coinage of the years previous to 1863.

"CUARTILLAS" PREVIOUS TO 1863

I have seen specimens of the years of 1859, 1860 and 1863. They are made of copper and the dies most likely were not very deeply cut as the average coin of this type is weakly struck. They measure $32/34$ mm. in diameter, 2 mm. in thickness and weigh $12/13\frac{1}{2}$ grammes.

Obv. An eagle standing on a cactus and devouring a serpent. Around the upper half of the margin the inscription EST.° LIB.° Y SOB.° DE SONORA. Around the margin, below, a branch of oak on the left and one of olive on the right, united in the center by a bow knot.

Rev. Liberty seated, facing left and holding in the right hand the staff supporting the liberty cap. At her feet the horn of plenty, filled with flowers, and just below forming a

semicircle oak leaves slightly over-lapped. Around the margin the inscription UNA CUARTILLA DE REAL 1859.* The border well defined, slightly raised. The edge: plain



with no milling. The amount coined, as has been stated previously, is unknown except for the last two years, which is as follows:

1861-62	\$35,228.86
1862-63	38,220.98
Total	<u>\$73,449.84</u>

The one centavo pieces,† similar to those coined in Alamos, were also struck in Hermosillo, as follows:

1875-76	3500 pieces or	\$ 35.00
1876-77	3508 pieces or	85.08
		<u>\$120.08</u>

* The cuartillas emitted from 1859 to 1863 did not bear the mint mark.

† One centavo pieces were also struck during the years 1880 and 1881 and no record is available. See illustration.



The mint mark of Hermosillo was H or H°.

THE EDIFICE OF THE MINT

This no longer exists. It used to be on the west front of what is now the federal building.

The following tables give a detailed account of the amounts of gold and silver coined in Hermosillo, making the total coinage in all metals \$18,414,134.06½ as follows:

Gold	\$ 849,200.13
Silver	17,491,364.01½
Copper	73,569.92
	<hr/>
	\$18,414,134.06½

This mint as well as that of Alamos was closed by order of the Federal Government during the year of 1895, and the dies and machinery were sent to the Mint at Culiacan, State of Sinaloa.

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GOLD COINED IN HERMOSILLO ITEMIZED BY YEARS

Fiscal year	No. of \$20	No. of \$10	No. of \$5	No. of \$1	Total of Gold
1851-61	unknown				—
1861-62				\$	587.13
1862-63					—
1863-64					62,812.00
1864-65					122,588.00
1865-66					96,171.00
1866-67	Number of coins struck of each denomination is not available for the period 1861-1874				18,704.00
1867-68					49,872.00
1868-69					55,008.00
1869-70					66,528.00
1870-71					62,288.00
1871-72					45,904.00
1872-73					32,784.00
1873-74					73,674.00
1874-75	4382	—	—	—	87,640.00
1875-76	1840	316	—	310	40,270.00
1876-77	321	41	—	—	6,830.00
1877-78	—	678	990	—	11,730.00
1878-79	—	136	—	—	1,360.00
1879-80	—	697	—	—	6,970.00
1880-81	—	748	—	—	7,480.00
	6543	2616	990	310	\$849,200.13

* The above statement is the one supplied by the official records but it is by no means accurate. For instance, coinage of two and a half dollar gold pieces is not acknowledged in this list, and Mr. L. W. Hoffecker of El Paso, Texas, sent me a rubbing of one such piece of Ho. mint mark dated 1874. It is also unexplainable how coinage to the amount of \$587.13 was obtained.

SILVER COINED IN HERMO-

Year	8 reales	4 reales (50¢)	2 reales (25¢)
1851-1861	unknown		
1861-62			
1862-63			
1863-64			
1864-65			
1865-66			
1866-67	The number of coins struck of each denomination is not available for the period 1861-1874		
1867-68			
1868-69			
1869-70			
1870-71			
1871-72			
1872-73			
1873-74			
1874-75	455,908	16,630	22,824
1875-76	385,074	33,968	34,332
1876-77	725,582	101,688	25,302
1877-78	860,609	—	22,636
1878-79	542,059	—	39,964
1879-80	702,087	—	19,916
1880-81	681,380	50,200	5,600
1881-82	481,812	6,000	28,480
1882-83	443,710	—	10,120
1883-84	521,800	—	51,600
1884-85	273,000	—	28,000
1885-86	255,560	—	—
1886-87	190,500	—	6,400
1887-88	171,980	—	16,560
1888-89	575,520	—	43,200
1889-90	484,095	—	18,000
1890-91	560,810	—	—
1891-92	763,300	—	—
1892-93	577,000	—	—
1893-94	505,500	26,000	—
1894-95	565,705	41,200	—
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	10,722,991	275,686	372,934

HERMOSILLO

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SILLO ITEMIZED BY YEARS

1 real (10¢)	$\frac{1}{2}$ real (5¢)	Total
		181,862.88
		408,098.87
		465,119.12 $\frac{1}{2}$
		597,976.00
		466,927.59
		3,280.00
		409,617.05
		648,528.00
		667,070.00
		602,281.00
		621,673.00
		723,134.00
		661,534.00
—	—	469,929.00
—	—	410,641.00
3,140	—	783,065.50
—	—	866,268.00
25,000	22,000	555,650.00
22,690	11,000	709,885.00
17,700	32,000	711,250.00
10,600	—	492,992.00
32,200	—	449,460.00
47,000	—	539,400.00
—	—	280,000.00
20,200	—	257,610.00
10,000	44,000	195,300.00
11,800	20,000	178,300.00
55,400	36,000	593,660.00
26,500	93,100	495,900.00
21,500	—	562,960.00
136,000	46,000	779,200.00
66,600	84,400	587,886.00
67,000	—	525,200.00
—	68,140	589,712.00
573,330	456,640	\$17,491,364.01 $\frac{1}{2}$

HERMOSILLO MINT

PLATE I



GOLD TWO ESCUDOS



GOLD EIGHT ESCUDOS



SILVER HALF REAL



SILVER ONE REAL

HERMOSILLO MINT

PLATE II



SILVER FOUR REALS



SILVER EIGHT REALS

HERMOSILLO MINT

PLATE III



SILVER FIVE CENTAVOS



SILVER TWENTY-FIVE CENTAVOS



SILVER FIFTY CENTAVOS

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35
N9

NUMISMATIC NOTES
AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 65



ROMANO-BRITISH IMITATIONS OF
BRONZE COINS OF CLAUDIUS I

BY

C. H. V. SUTHERLAND

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
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ROMANO-BRITISH IMITATIONS OF BRONZE COINS OF CLAUDIUS I¹

BY C. H. V. SUTHERLAND

For nearly a century the existence in England of considerable numbers of "barbarous" bronze coins, imitated from types of Claudius I, has been recognized.² But beyond the recording of stray specimens here and there, little has been done in the way of a general survey of these imitations, and it was left to Cohen³ to voice the first theory regarding their provenance. His view that they are of British manufacture is at variance with other opinions that have been expressed more recently: and the object of this paper is to reopen the question and examine it in the light of more comprehensive evidence than appears to have been available before.

¹ In presenting this monograph the writer wishes to emphasize that, owing to the sporadic distribution of the material and the lack of relevant archaeological literature, his treatment of the subject is necessarily preliminary and by no means exhaustive. He gratefully acknowledges assistance from many quarters, and in particular his thanks are due to the committees and curators of the museums mentioned in the text for their permission to examine the collections in their charge and to select coins for casting; to the Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, for the generous number of casts there made; and to Mr. Harold Mattingly, both for the furnishing of casts of British Museum coins and for the advantage of his helpful criticism.

² Cf. Roach Smith, *Num. Chron.* 1841, p. 147 and *Cat. Museum of London Antiquities*, p. 92, no. 454.

³ *Description historique des médailles frappées sous l'Empire romain* (2nd edⁿ., 1880), vol. i, p. 257.

2 ROMANO-BRITISH IMITATIONS

When Augustus attained supreme power after Actium, he found, as one of the most urgent and prevalent problems that faced him, that of the reform of the coinage. Fifty years of constitutional strife had seen the issue of gold and silver coins become part of the prerogative of rival "*imperatores*," exercised anywhere at their discretion: the bronze token coinage, issued by the Senate, had ceased altogether about 82 B. C. The plan ultimately elaborated by Augustus made Lugdunum the chief source of gold for the Empire and of silver for the West: the Italian peninsula received its supplies of bronze money from the re-established Senatorial mint, while Gaul, Spain and Africa were independently supplied, the first by the Gallic "Altar" series, and the two latter by local town issues. The East supplied itself abundantly with both silver and bronze.

So far, therefore, as token money was concerned, the western part of the Empire may be regarded as having been adequately supplied during Augustus' reign. It was probably under Tiberius that a shortage of bronze was first felt. His disinclination to continue the "Altar" series in Gaul is balanced by a diminution in the issues of Spain and Africa, and both facts reflect the measure of his antipathy to the forces of nationalism: the revolt of Sacrovir and the war with Tacfarinas⁴ doubtless increased his native caution. Under Caligula Rome became the sole mint in the West for gold, silver and bronze:

⁴ Cf. B. M. Cat. Rom. Emp. i. p. xviii note.

and even if certain issues were, in this reign as in the last, intended for purely provincial circulation, the fact remains that the western provinces were now without a single mint designed for the supply of bronze.

Shortage of official small change generally leads to local and unofficial issues, and it is indisputable that during this period a flood of unorthodox coinage makes its appearance on the continent in the West. Even under Augustus, a certain number of imitations appear to have been made: but it was in the two succeeding reigns that they first became really numerous, the ROM ET AVG and PROVIDENT Altar types, together with the Agrippa type,⁵ being especially common in Gaul, while local issues were manufactured in Spain. The extent of the unofficial coinage in Gaul can be well judged by the results of Ritterling's excavations at the Claudian camp at Hofheim:⁶ large numbers of Gallic imitations appear to have entered Germany with the Roman forces. Examples of pre-Claudian types found in Britain are, similarly, the results of the Claudian invasion: no question arises as to their being of any other than continental manufacture. They occur comparatively seldom,—a fact later to be borne in mind when the Claudian copies made in Britain are compared with those of the continent. An example of

⁵ Probably of Caligula's reign, but frequently found muled with types of Tiberius and Claudius: cf. for the latter Num. Chron. 1931 p. 314—a specimen at Lincoln.

⁶ See *Annalen des Vereins für Nassauische Altertumskunde und Geschichtsforschung*, 1904 and 1912.

4 ROMANO-BRITISH IMITATIONS

unusual interest is the *as* of Carthago Nova (Vives, *La Moneda Hispanica*, IV, 37. 37) found at Rochester,⁷ of stiff style and clumsy workmanship. The other examples are mainly of the Altar type, as at Wroxeter,⁸ or the more frequent Agrippa type, specimens of which occur at Roustage in the Wychwood Forest (Oxon.),⁹ Otford (Kent),—a brockage,¹⁰ and Lincoln,—a mule with the Claudian Minerva-type reverse.¹¹

The accession of Claudius, although it was followed in Rome by some years' heavy output of bronze coinage, was unattended by any change of policy in regard to provincial mints. The frequency on the continent of imitated unofficial issues now reaches its peak point: so great is the flood of Claudian imitations that it seems as if this unorthodox currency must have been tolerated, if not encouraged, by the central government. The figures from Hofheim show that, of the coins of Claudius' reign, about one fifth are imitations. It is indeed just conceivable that this large proportion was connived at by the authorities. But it is more likely that it reflects their willingness to allow communities to augment by local issues the admittedly scanty supply of bronze from the central mint of Rome: provided that the authentic type was recognizably

⁷ East Gate House Museum.

⁸ Report, 1913, p. 56.

⁹ Num. Chron. 1863, p. 145.

¹⁰ Report, 1928, p. 6.

¹¹ Num. Chron. 1931, p. 314.

copied, the government can have had few grounds for objection.

It now remains to be seen whether the same hypothesis can be applied to Britain. Sir George Hill, in his important and authoritative paper on the Southants Hoard,¹² is disposed to assign a Gallic origin to the Claudian copies found in this country, on the following grounds:—

- i. The infrequency with which they occur.
- ii. The contiguity with Gaul of the regions in which they occur.
- iii. The sufficiency of the native coinage (as indicated by its presence in this and other hoards), suggesting that it was not suppressed, called in, or otherwise discouraged.

An examination of the evidence available in provincial museums and recorded in numismatic literature makes it possible to deny the validity of each of his first two premises. Hill quotes a few stray examples of Claudian copies from Southampton, Santon Downham, Croydon, and Dorset. The following list, which claims to be no more than generally representative, gives a fair indication of the parts of Britain where these coins occur, and of the proportion that they bear to the official Roman coinage.¹³

¹² Num. Chron. 1911, pp. 42 ff.

¹³ Where reference is made to (Museum), personal examination of all coins of Claudian period is implied: references to Ashm. Mus. indicate that the material is contained in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Every care has been taken to guarantee the provenance of material contained in local museums as local.

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KENT

- RICHBOROUGH** Some 50% of the numerous Claudian coins are copies. (Reports: I p. 114, II p. 122.)
- MAIDSTONE** About twenty copies represent some 50% of the total number of Claudian coins. (Museum.)
- ROCHESTER** Claudian coins are not frequent, but copies are well represented among them. (Museum.)

MIDDLESEX

- LONDON** Of the large number of Roman coins found in the bed of the Thames, copies of Claudian coins are extremely numerous. (Num. Chron. 1841 p. 147; Cat. Museum of London Antiquities, p. 92, no. 454.)

BERKSHIRE

- NEWBURY** Claudian copies are found among the by no means common coins of this reign. (Museum.)

HAMPSHIRE

- SILCHESTER** Claudian coins from the site are extremely numerous, and the majority of them are copies. (Reading Museum.)
- WINCHESTER** Numerous copies constitute a good proportion of the Claudian coins. (Museum.)

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WILTSHIRE

- SALISBURY** Copies are represented among the few orthodox coins of Claudian epoch. (Museum.)
- LATTON** A considerable proportion of Claudian coins deposited here consists of copies. (Num. Chron. 1864 p. 216.)

DORSET

- DORCHESTER** Copies account for some 20%-30% of the fair number of Claudian coins. (Museum.)

HERTFORDSHIRE

- ST. ALBANS** Claudian coins are infrequent, but include several examples of copies. (Museum.)

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

- HAMBLEDEN** Of the six Claudian coins yielded by this site, five were copies. (Archæologia, Vol. 71 (1920-1) p. 189; Wroxeter Rept. (1914) pp. 70 ff.)

OXFORDSHIRE

- WOODEATON** This site has supplied few coins of Claudius, but there is at least one copy. (Ashm. Museum.)

GLOUCESTERSHIRE

- GLOUCESTER** Claudian coins of local provenance are very common, and over 50% are copies. (Museum.)

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CIRENCESTER More than half the numerous coins of Claudius are copies, as at Gloucester. (Museums.)¹⁴

NORFOLK

CAISTOR ST. EDMUND The two Claudian coins so far yielded by this site are both copies. (Norwich Museum.)

LINCOLNSHIRE

LINCOLN At least 50% of the very numerous Claudian coins are copies. (Museum) (cf. Mattingly in Num. Chron. 1931 pp. 313-5.)

YORKSHIRE

YORK Of the surprising number of Claudian coins of local provenance, a third are copies. (Yorkshire Museum.)

SHROPSHIRE

WROXETER Originally the site produced eight Claudian coins,—few, if any, orthodox (Report, 1914). Subsequent excavations in the Forum have, according to information kindly supplied by Prof. Atkinson, yielded more Claudian coins, of which twenty are of the Minerva-type *as*, including at least six copies.

¹⁴ The collections examined include those of the Corinium (Bathurst) Museum, the Cripps Museum, and Watermoor House.

There are frequent examples from other localities also, as from the neighborhood of Colchester,¹⁵ at Keynsham, in Somerset (J. R. S. 1929 p. 203), Sandy in Bedfordshire (Num. Chron. 1889 p. 333), Asthall, Ewelme, and Dorchester in Oxfordshire (Ashmolean Museum), Bolitree in Herefordshire (Gloucester Museum), Bury St. Edmunds (Museum), Stoke-on-Trent (two examples: for one Cf. J. R. S. 1930, p. 225: a cast of the second is in the Ashm. Mus.) and Chester (Museum).

Further specimens, of mainly chronological importance, occur in the following hoards or groups:

CROYDON HOARD	(SURREY)	One copy in 2nd. Century hoard. (Num. Chron. 1907 pp. 353 ff.)
SOUTHANTS (FOUND NEAR DOR- SET BORDER)	HOARD	Thirteen copies and four orthodox coins in 2nd. Century hoard. (Num. Chron. 1911 pp. 42 ff.)
CLAPTON-IN-GORDANO (SOMERSET) HOARD		One copy in 3rd. Century hoard. (Num. Chron. 1927 pp. 209 ff.)
NUNNEY HOARD	(SOMERSET)	Two copies and two orthodox coins in 1st. Century hoard. (Num. Chron. 1861 pp. 1 ff.)
ASTROP GROUP	(NORTHANTS)	An exclusively 3rd. Century coin-group includes one copy. (Rept. Oxfordshire Arch. Soc. 1911, pp. 12 ff.)

¹⁵ In the possession of the Rev. G. M. Benton, Secretary of the Essex Archaeological Society.

ASTROP (NORTHANTS) The coin is in the Ashm.
GROUP (*Cont.*) Museum.)

Further investigation would multiply these results almost indefinitely. As they stand, however, they leave no doubt as to the need for reconsidering Hill's conclusions. First, as to the frequency of these copies:—It is hard to make any approximate computation of the proportion that these copies bear to the orthodox issues when the investigation is on a national scale and not confined, as at Richborough or Hofheim, to a single well-defined area. But it is quite evident that the proportion is of a very considerable size, and if we were to put it at about 20% on an average over the whole area in which Claudian coins are found, we should not be far from the truth. In certain localities, as may be noted, the proportion is well over half. Secondly, in considering the area over which they occur, we cannot fail to notice that they are evenly spread over almost all the region embraced by the Claudian conquest, and that they are found even beyond what might be expected to form their logical boundary. The examples from Yorkshire, Staffordshire, and Shropshire clearly show the extent of their spread northward.¹⁶ It can scarcely be held¹⁷ that

¹⁶ I am informed by Mr. G. Askew and Mr. W. P. Hedley of the Black Gate Museum, Newcastle-on-Tyne, that Claudian copies are not found in Northumberland or Durham. This confirms the opinion of Sir G. Macdonald quoted by Hill in *Num. Chron.* 1911 pp. 42 ff. A possible straggler is perhaps to be recognized in a worn coin found at the Mumrills site in Scotland: see *Proc. Soc. Antiquar. Scot.* Vol. LXIII, p. 551.

¹⁷ Conclusions as to the exact distribution of these copies must

these copies occur only, or even chiefly, in the parts of Britain contiguous to Gaul. This is not to deny that a certain number of examples may have found their way across the Channel. Nevertheless it would be illogical to attribute a Gallic origin to a group of coins spread over the greater part of Britain on the ground that a few examples may have been imported from the continent.

Hill's third hypothesis is of comparatively little importance. The native British coinage may or may not have been recalled, and in any case it does not seem to have provided an abundant supply of bronze small change. Hoards containing both British and Roman coins are not uncommon,¹⁸ and the general impression gained from them is that, while the autonomous gold, silver and even billon continued to circulate fairly steadily during the first century A. D., the Roman bronze almost at once came into its own as supplying the need for a token coinage.

It appears therefore that no theory which ascribes a continental origin to these copies can be based on grounds either of their infrequency or of their restriction to the extreme South, or of their super-

necessarily be rather tentative until the Romano-British sites have been systematically examined. But the above lists, inasmuch as they are fairly representative of the various Romano-British areas, suffice for our main hypothesis.

¹⁸ See the Timsbury (Num. Chron. 1908, pp. 80-1), Lightcliffe (Num. Chron. 1861 pp. 79 ff.), Santon Downham (Num. Chron. 1869 pp. 319 ff.), Honley (Num. Chron. 1897 pp. 293 ff.), Bitterne (Num. Chron. Proc. 1908 p. 11), and Southants Hoards.

fluity beside the native British issues. There appear to be no other obvious reasons for supposing them to be importations, and we are driven to the conclusion that they were struck frequently, and over a wide area, in Britain itself. This sudden flood of irregular coins can be associated only with the Claudian invasion. The actual area over which they are found exactly covers the districts of the first conquests: examples found beyond the Fosse Way bear witness to the spread of the new coinage, and also to its continuance during the subsequent years of conquest. An examination of the actual types found is equally strong evidence for the connection of these copies with the Claudian legions. *Sestertii* are of rare occurrence, as copies. In the list of coins which served as a basis for this paper, less than 5% were copied *sestertii*. *Dupondii* are much commoner, and account for some 25%. But it is the *as* that we find most frequently imitated: some 70% of the Claudian copies found in England are so accounted for. There can be small doubt that the widespread and sudden dissemination of Claudian coins by the legions of the conquest led directly to their more or less general imitation throughout the area under control, the commoner types naturally being most often copied. It is interesting to note that the title P. P. is hardly ever found on the copies occurring in Britain: the examples with P. P. quoted by Hill from the Southants Hoard are rare exceptions. Although it is difficult to differentiate in date between the issues with and without

P. P., it may justifiably be held that the earlier issues were, in the main, those which naturally entered Britain with the legions.¹⁹

The Claudian copies found in Britain confirm our knowledge of the relative frequency of the various imperial types. Of the *sestertii*, almost all are of the Spes Augusta type (*Plate I*): an interesting exception is the coin with *rev.* Ob Cives Servatos, at York. The *dupondii* include both the Ceres Augusta type (*Plate II*) and the coins struck with *obv.* Antonia Augusta in commemoration of Claudius' mother (*Plate III*, 1-8): the former class is the more frequent. The *asses* include the Constantiae Augusti, Libertas and Minerva types (*Plates III*, 9-10 & *IV-VIII*): of these the first is of fairly steady though not very frequent occurrence, while the second is rare. The Minerva type is found in an overwhelming proportion. Copies of *quadrantes* seem to be unknown in Britain.

Imitations of all the foregoing types are found in very varying stages of degradation and debasement, and it now becomes necessary to form a simple system of classification by which all Claudian copies may be conveniently judged.²⁰ The system here

¹⁹ It might be objected that imitations of Claudian Æ entered Britain from Gaul not so much by trade as by the medium of the actual military chests. But it cannot be supposed that legions derived their cash-consignments from anywhere except Rome itself.

²⁰ Each group of coins illustrated in the Plates is headed by a coin of official and orthodox manufacture, as a means of rendering comparison easier. The Key to the Plates indicates the Grade to which each illustrated coin has been assigned.

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adopted distinguishes four grades of debasement, as follows:—

GRADE I contains coins which show all the detail, and much of the excellence of fabric, possessed by their prototype, but lack the essentially Roman character of the model. The legends are correct.

GRADE II embraces coins of rougher fabric than Grade I, showing in addition a growing inaccuracy of detail. The legends, wherever the size of the flan allows of their being properly seen, appear to be correct.

GRADE III includes the rough and unskilful productions of thoroughly crude and barbarous style. With few exceptions the legends are either hopelessly blundered or non-existent.

GRADE IV is reserved for the rare instances of reversal of one or both types; i. e. as when the head is facing r. instead of l., with or without a corresponding reversal of the *rev.* type.

Technique and style are the only criteria by which these copies can be compared: weight, although when averaged out over a number of specimens it gives results of considerable interest,²¹ may be highly misleading in the case of single coins. Under the heading of technique, or fabric, are included the following:—

- a. The shape of the flan.
- b. The relief of the *obv.* and *rev.* types.

²¹ See below, p. 20.

- c. The position of the types (i. e. correct or reversed).
- d. The adjustment of dies.

As matters of style, there are considered:—

- a. The head²² (i. e. the treatment of the features, hair, neck and bust).
- b. The *rev.* type (i. e. the treatment of the position and the drapery or armour).
- c. *Obv.* and *rev.* legends (i. e. their accuracy and position, and the form of the letters).
- d. The border.

The prototypes of these Romano-British copies possess in every case most of the qualities of a good and attractive coin. Designed, as they were, at a time when the standard of numismatic portraiture was approaching a high point of vigour and skill, they show a forceful head, excellently proportioned to the size of the field, surrounded by a legend of clear and fine lettering (cf. *Plate IV*, 1). The reverses are equally successful: in particular the arresting figure of Minerva, gracefully clad, hurling her weapon in a field empty but for the large letters S C (*Plate V*, 1, 2), forms a type that appeals to the imagination and encourages imitation. Both the *obv.* and *rev.* types were finished off with a border of dots. The flans themselves are well rounded and the striking is careful and sharp.

²² Two main types of head are found, the long, flat-topped head, and the tall, domed head (cf. *Plate IV*, 3, 7). Both types are found indiscriminately, and result from the two corresponding types found on the official Roman issues.

The *First Grade* of degradation is subtle and often hard to analyse. But, in a general way, it may be said that, from the first, the Romano-British copies lack the definite character of the originals. This implies neither unskilful technique nor poor style: on the contrary, the flans continued to be of fairly good shape, though they may fall to as little as 25 mm. in diameter. Die-adjustment is not frequent in this Grade, but it occurs far less frequently in the second, third and fourth Grades. The striking is in most cases careful and the relief good; though the reverses tend to suffer in comparison with the obverses, thereby forming one of the characteristics of this Grade: it almost seems as if the die-engravers, while anxious to reproduce the full detail of the original, found difficulties in rendering the complexities of the reverse, and particularly of Minerva (cf. *Plate V*). Stylistically, these coins are not without merit: the portrait is clearly delineated and fully recognizable, although the characterization may appear uncertain (cf. *Plate II*, 2, 6 and *V*, 3, 6). In the case of the portraits of Claudius, two of the chief features of the prototypes, namely, the long, muscular neck, neatly indented, and the indication of the bust below, are almost always faithfully copied. The reverse types, although frequently in low relief, show accuracy and vigour. The legends, on both *obv.* and *rev.*, are correct, with perhaps a preference for the open form of A (Λ): the letters are regular, orthodox in size, and properly spaced. Both sides of these coins are commonly finished off with a border of dots (cf. *Plate II*, 4).

Coins of the *Second Grade* are more easily recognized, for now, besides the absence of Roman character, there is the added criterion of rougher fabric allied with inaccurate detail. Flans are more irregular in shape, and are frequently too small for the dies: this is notably the case with the numerous Silchester group (cf. *Plate VI*, 8). Occasionally a flan has all the appearance of having been restruck. The relief of the *obv.* of this class of coins is noticeably lower than that of Grade I, while the *rev.* now receives greater care and emphasis. Already, perhaps, some of the moneyers to whom fell the work of copying the official coins found in the *rev.* types, and especially in that of Minerva, a more stirring composition than was possessed by the head of the *obv.* Viewed generally, these coins show a technique that is adequate if not highly competent. It is in the matter of style that there is the greatest falling off. The head, now seldom recognizable, exhibits little of the flair for portraiture which characterizes the originals: the features are either flat and dull, or caricatured (*Plate VI*, 1, *IV*, 3). The hair is carelessly worked, and there is an obvious reluctance to attempt the modelling of the neck muscles (*Plate VI*). The *rev.* types show the same tendency to inaccuracy and lifelessness. Both the *obv.* and *rev.* legends appear to be correct in substance, where they are readable, but in form there is a falling off here also.

The coins of Grades I and II are the productions of literate communities, where Latin was either

generally in use or at least so commonly understood as to lose nothing in the copying. The *Third Grade*, embracing the Minerva type almost exclusively (*Plate VII*: cf. *Plate III*, 6–8), is composed chiefly of the work of illiterates to whom Latin was a closed book, for the majority of legends are either blundered or, in the worse examples, non-existent. In all respects, these coins are crude and barbarous. The flans are of all shapes, and vary in size from 28–22 mm.,—hardly greater than a large debased *antoninianus*. In some cases they have obviously been through a long process of restriking: most of them are too small for the dies, and nearly all of them have one or both dies badly centred (cf. *Plate III*, 6, *VII*, 1). Relief is for the most part low. From the point of view of style, this group includes coins almost worthy of inclusion in the Second Grade, which are relegated to Grade III on account of greatly inferior fabric (cf. *Plate VII*, 1): and at the other end of the scale appear examples of the utmost degree of barbarism. In nearly every case the head is of a new and purely formal type, remarkable for an almost complete absence of modelling: the head is blocked out in a mass, the eye, ear and mouth being represented by indentations or incisions (cf. *Plate VII*, 3, 6, 7). It is interesting to observe that, in this group, Claudius' chin is usually strong and square,—a characterization never present in the Roman prototypes. He is given a rude shock of hair, and his neck, whether thin or thick, is generally long and terminates in a plain truncation.

The *rev.* type is as devoid of skill as the *obv.*, but it still preserves a certain vigour. In many cases the Minerva-figure has changed its sex, and has consequently shed all drapery (*Plate VII*, 3): frequently traces of drapery remain in purely conventional form, such as \perp , \lrcorner , $\hat{=}$, between the legs (*Plate VII*, 2, 6, 7). Rare examples show the type undergoing a more radical change, in which posture and action are such that the type may properly be called a new one. Coins of this group are not uncommonly found pierced for suspension.

The *Fourth Grade* is no more barbarous than Grade III in respect of degree of debasement, being designed merely to include examples of reversed types. Here the Minerva-type supplies the only specimens (*Plate VIII*). In one sense these coins are the result of painstaking effort, since it seems as if the die-engraver kept his eye so carefully upon his model that he forgot to engrave his design in a reversed position! Of the rare examples that occur, two are of exceptional interest. These two coins (*Plate VIII*, 1-2) are in the British Museum and Maidstone Museum respectively: both *obverses*, which show a crude, blocked-out head to r., with blundered retrograde legend, are from the same die: but, while the B. M. coin has a *rev.* with Minerva l., and legend $\supset \supset$, the Maidstone specimen, which appears by the condition of the *obv.* die to be a later striking, shows the *rev.* type r., with legend S C. This may represent reversal of types carried to the

second degree. Other examples of Grade IV come from Astrop (Northants)²³ and St. Albans.²⁴

As has been said before, the question of the weights of these copies must be treated with caution: so far as the grading is concerned, weight is only

TYPE	ORTHODOX	
	Exx.	Av.
Sestertius. [General].....	13	26.70
Dupondius. Ceres.....	5	15.48
Dupondius. Antonia.....	4	14.88
As. Constantia.....	7	10.89
As. Libertas.....	7	10.20
As. Minerva.....	6	10.97

admissible as confirming the evidence of style, since the weights of individual specimens in any given class, although in the average they give useful information, vary widely in themselves. For instance, Constantia-type *asses* from Woodeaton and

²³ Rept. Oxfordshire Arch. Soc. 1911 (the coin is in the Ashmolean Museum).

²⁴ Journ. Antiqu. Ass. Brit. Isles. Vol. III, part i, Plate III.

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Dorchester (Oxon.), both of Grade II, weigh 10.65 gm. and 4.99 gm. respectively, and Minerva-type asses from Lincoln and Winchester, both of Grade III, weigh 8.75 gm. and 2.60 gm. respectively. But a calculation of the average weights of coins

COPIES							
Grade I.		Grade II.		Grade III.		Grade IV.	
Exx.	Av.	Exx.	Av.	Exx.	Av.	Exx.	Av.
7	25.33	4	15.49				
15	11.41	4	12.12				
4	12.96	2	9.46	2	9.00		
4	9.39	7	8.55				
2	8.75	[1]	[8.85]				
27	8.53	14	6.78	15	5.60	2	5.32

which have been first graded by grounds of style and fabric alone gives interesting results. The table above sets out these results, and gives for comparison the average weights of the orthodox coins to which the various copies correspond.

With the exception of the Grade II averages of the Ceres and Libertas types, both of which are somewhat invalidated by the small number of

specimens available for weighing, these figures confirm in a remarkably thorough way the results of previous classification by style. The rare copies of *sestertii* drop little more than a gramme in Grade I, but Grade II shows a further drop of 10 grammes. With the smaller denominations the decrease is less uneven. Grade I is from 2–4 grammes lower than the orthodox weight in the case of the *dupondii*, and from 1–2 grammes lower in the case of the *asses*. The lower Grades of both denominations show a consistently decreasing weight: in Grades III and IV of the Minerva-type *as*, the weight is only about one half of the full orthodox weight. In general, it may be said that the weight of Grade I specimens of all denominations and types shows only a small reduction, and that Grade II specimens of the commoner denominations and types show no very drastic reduction: it is in the Grade III and IV specimens of the frequent Minerva examples that a completely new weight standard seems to have been reached.

Evidence of provenance, frequency, style and weight has now been given, and reasons have been shown for thinking it to be certain that these copies were widely manufactured in Britain. It remains to inquire under what circumstances and by whom they were manufactured, and to determine the period of time through which their manufacture persisted. The sharp division of the four Grades of copies into two main sections, one literate and one almost entirely illiterate, forms a possible starting

point: it is well to remember that the ordinary Romano-British village was only very superficially Roman, and that Romanization was bred chiefly in the towns.²⁶ It is, naturally, in or near the towns that the majority of copies, and particularly of good copies, is found. These towns may be either administrative and military centres, such as Lincoln, York and Gloucester, or tribal capitals such as Winchester, Dorchester (Dorset), Silchester and Cirencester. From the prevalence of Claudian copies in the military towns it seems almost certain that recourse must have been had to the coining of local issues as an official method of supplementing the military chest: the chest may not have been too full at the time of conquest, and an army in Britain was in a precarious position if it had to draw all its supplies of cash from the mint at Rome. The proportion of copies at Lincoln is remarkable enough: it is still more remarkable at York, which lay outside the conquest boundary. By the time that Petilius Cerialis moved Legio IX from Lincoln to York (A. D. 71), Flavian coinage and the preceding issues of Nero were presumably circulating regularly in Britain, and perhaps the Claudian copies at York indicate an earlier occupation, by some kind of expeditionary force, than has hitherto been deemed the case. Otherwise we must assume that Claudian copies formed a large part of the currency, whether military or not, until the seventies, although, on purely numismatic grounds, the excellence of the

* Cf. Collingwood, *Roman Britain*, pp. 86 ff.

imitation is against this latter hypothesis. Gloucester probably saw the legions of Claudius as part of the regular programme of conquest: here again the number of high-class copies is very great.²⁶

It is, then, difficult to resist the conclusion that the Roman officials saw to the manufacture of local coinage as a means of continuing the payment of the legionaries:²⁷ such semi-official copies would be executed either by camp-moneymen or by native British craftsmen, and, since they would be intended for military circulation, their style and weight would be fairly accurate. The Grade I copies faithfully fulfil these conditions. In time they would come to circulate through the tribal centres, or country towns of the civil districts that lay between and behind the chief Roman military posts, and must have been welcomed as a much-needed addition to the existing supplies of small change. Once absorbed into currency, they would themselves be subject to imitation, the second-degree copies being proportionately less faithful and lighter in weight since they were a purely token coinage, and no longer a military unit of payment. It is in the Grade II copies that we should expect to find this class of coinage. They are extremely numerous at such centres as Cirencester, Silchester, Winchester and Dorchester (Dorset), which were

²⁶ It may be added that the proportion of copies found at the Claudian outpost of Wroxeter may be explained by exactly parallel causes.

²⁷ Richborough was manifestly one of the first places where additional issues would be struck, and copies are there very numerous.

civil, and not military, towns, composed of the best native British elements and capable of producing passable copies. In the process of trade they must have had a fairly wide circulation as is perhaps to be seen by the examples found at Dorchester (Oxon.) (*Plate IV*, 6), Woodeaton (*Plate IV*, 5), Asthall (*Plate VI*, 2) and at Bolitree in Herefordshire (*Plate VI*, 5): moreover, they must have frequently found their way into the larger and military towns, as specimens at Richborough, St. Albans and Gloucester go to show.

Our attributions and distinctions cannot of course be entirely water-tight, since there must have been many examples of Grade II copies made in the Romanized towns as a result of successive imitation of Grade I copies: in the second-class towns, too, such as Silchester, regular imitation of Grade II coins probably led to the production of many examples of Grade III, as the coins from the site tend to show. But it is unlikely that the imitation of Claudian coins continued as long in either first or second class towns as it did in small and essentially un-Roman settlements, whither fresh issues of orthodox coinage would find their way only slowly and irregularly: and it is in dealing with the lower and chiefly illiterate Grades that we are brought up most seriously against the question of the duration of the Series. It is perhaps a legitimate conjecture that copies of Grades III and IV, which clearly involved no specialist knowledge of coining, were manufactured in the remoter and less civilized

centres fairly soon after the first circulation of the Claudian series. Such copies would vary in degree of debasement according to the natural capacity or incapacity of the copyist. But extreme debasement of style may also result through a series of ever-increasing degradation, and since there is some evidence for the long-continued circulation of these copies, it may be necessary to account for a proportion of the more barbarous examples by the hypothesis that they are of an unsuspected lateness of manufacture.

The regular circulation of Claudian copies in the first century A. D. is shown by such hoards as those at Timsbury²⁸ and Nunney,²⁹ and further examples are probably to be recognized among the many worn Claudian coins which formed the early currency in Roman Wales.³⁰ Second-century circulation is attested by the Southants³¹ and Croydon Hoards;³² the first of these, buried about A. D. 150, contained thirteen examples, while the second, dated a few years earlier, also included a specimen. That they were still current well on into the third century is proved by the Clapton-in-Gordano Hoard,³³ com-

²⁸ Num. Chron. 1908, pp. 80-81.

²⁹ Num. Chron. 1861, pp. 1 ff.

³⁰ Cf. Wheeler, Rom. Fort at *Brecon*, (1926), p. 90; Gardner, Rom. Fort at *Caerhun*, Co. Carnarvon (Arch. Cambr. 1925), p. 322; Nash Williams, Rom. Legionary Fort at *Caerleon* (Arch. Cambr. 1932) pp. 100 ff.; Grimes, *Castle Lyons*, Denbighshire (Y Cymmrodor 1930) p. 89.

³¹ *Loc. cit.*

³² Num. Chron. 1907, pp. 353 ff.

³³ Num. Chron. 1927, pp. 209 ff.

posed of coins from Gallienus to Maximian, together with a barbarous Minerva-type *as*. The evidence of this last hoard is confirmed by a group of coins found at Astrop, King's Sutton, Northants, none of which, except for a Grade IV Minerva-type *as* (*Plate VIII*, 3), was struck before the reign of Tetricus.³⁴

Of the foregoing hoards, that from Southants is the most valuable for purposes of chronology, since it serves to remind us that, even in the middle of the second century, coinage of a native pattern was still extant, if not being actually manufactured. The presence in this same hoard of a considerable proportion of Claudian copies gives rise to the speculation that the British workmen who perhaps still specialized in the production of autonomous currency may have looked upon the Claudian types with a respect analogous to that felt by the ancient Arabians for the Athenian tetradrachm, or by their modern successors for the Maria Theresa dollar. If we could postulate a production of Claudian copies down to the middle of the second century, the occurrence of specimens a century later would be a very natural possibility. After A. D. 150 the supplies of bronze in Britain probably sufficed the country districts: before that, it may well have been necessary to resort to fairly regular imitation, and nothing is more natural than that the choice of the copyists should fall upon the earliest Roman series known to the country. It is therefore possible that,

³⁴ Rept. Oxfordshire Arch. Soc., 1911, pp. 12 ff.

while many of the Grade III and IV examples represent fairly contemporary imitation in backward and un-Roman districts. a considerable number may also be assigned to a period lasting until about a century afterwards, as the increasingly unskilful products of rural and uncivilized craftsmen.

If this hypothesis is true, it may, in combination with the undoubted fact that the post-Claudian coinages were more plentiful, help to explain the comparative infrequency of imitations of subsequent issues. Stray examples can be quoted, such as the *asses* of Nero, one in the Croydon Hoard³⁵ and one in the Lincoln Museum, a *sestertius* and an *as* of Vespasian at Dorchester (Dorset)³⁶ and Cirencester respectively, a *dupondius* and an *as* of Trajan at Woodeaton³⁷ and York, and a *sestertius* of Hadrian at Cirencester. Under the Antonines examples occur less seldom, but are never frequent: copies of types of Antoninus are found at Woodeaton,³⁸ Gloucester and Maidstone, of Aurelius at Woodeaton again,³⁹ and apparently of Faustina II at Chesters⁴⁰ and Cirencester. But these coins are in every sense casual examples in comparison with the numbers of Claudian copies that occur: most of them are sophisticated in style, and should probably be assigned some such origin as has been tentatively

³⁵ *Loc. cit.*

³⁶ This *sestertius* weighs only 13.21 gm.

³⁷ Num. Chron. 1933 Pl. X, no. 2.

³⁸ *Ibid.* no. 3.

³⁹ *Ibid.* no. 4.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* no. 1.

given to Grade I and II copies of Claudius. In the remoter districts the Claudian type may well have continued in vogue.

Once the large bronze issues of Antoninus, of which certain types seem to have been specially intended for British currency, had succeeded in penetrating throughout the country, imitation of bronze must have virtually ceased: silver then became the problem. But until that time it is, as has been seen, quite probable that the copies of the original Claudian coinage had a steady circulation. Though widely differing in origin and style, it would appear that they all played an important part in supplementing the meagre currency of a province that was as poor as it was remote.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

Since the preceding paper was written, certain additional examples of Claudian copies have come to hand. For the sake of completeness these are here given.

SUSSEX

CHICHESTER An imitated *sestertius* of the
 Nero Drusus type. (Rev. N.
 Shaw, Fishbourne.)

SOMERSET (*cf.* p. 00)

COMBE ST. NICHOLAS Two imitated *dupondii*.
 COMBE DOWN One imitated *dupondius*.
 HAM HILL Three imitated *asses*, one of
 which, weighing only 3.10

30 ROMANO-BRITISH IMITATIONS

- HAM HILL (*Cont.*) gm., is a remarkable example of debasement. (All in Taunton Museum.)
- WELLS One imitated *as* belongs to this district. (Museum.)

ESSEX

- COLCHESTER DISTRICT One imitated *as*. (Rev. G. M. Benton, Fingringhoe.)

YORKSHIRE

- (? NEAR YORK) Four imitated *asses* in the Black Gate Museum, Newcastle (Stephens Collection) are, according to Mr. G. Askew, probably to be given a Yorkshire provenance.

NORTHUMBERLAND (*cf.* p. 10)

- COVENTINA'S WELL,
PROCOLITIA Of seven Claudian bronze coins kindly procured on loan for the writer from Chesters Museum by Mr. G. Askew, no fewer than six are copies, one being a *dupondius* and five *asses*, the lightest of which weighs only 3.37 gm. The coins accumulated in this deposit cannot, of course, be subjected to the strict local analysis which is applicable to other groups: nevertheless, copies of Claudian bronze were evidently

BRONZE COINS OF CLAUDIUS I 31

COVENTINA'S WELL, PROCOLTIA (<i>Cont.</i>)	in circulation in the extreme north of England, and the view adopted in note no 16 to p. 10 preceding requires consequent modification.
---	---

Other examples are recorded as having been found at Boughton Monchelsea in Kent (*Archaeologia*, Vol. 29, 1842, p. 418), Bitterne in Hampshire (*Num. Chron.* 1934, p. 223), Great Chesterford in Essex (*Num. Chron.* 1934, p. 225), Kingsholm in Gloucestershire (*Archaeologia*, Vol. 18, 1817, p. 122), Duston in Northamptonshire (*Num. Chron.* 1934, p. 221) and at Stapenhill in Derbyshire (*Victoria County History, Derbyshire i*, p. 275). Specimens of both *dupondii* and *asses* from Huntingdonshire are recorded as being in Peterborough Museum (*Victoria County History, Huntingdonshire i*, p. 236).

LIST OF COINS
ILLUSTRATED IN THE PLATES⁴¹

PLATE I

(TYPE: M. AND S. 64)

- | | | | | |
|----------------|------------|-----------|----------|--------|
| 1. Sestertius. | Legend E. | Orthodox. | 29.77. | Ashm. |
| 2. Sestertius. | Legend D. | Copy. | Grade I | 25.92. |
| | B. M. | | | |
| 3. Sestertius. | Legend D. | Copy. | Grade I | 24.62. |
| | Maidstone. | | | |
| 4. Sestertius. | Legend D. | Copy. | Grade II | 14.59. |
| | B. M. | | | |
| 5. Sestertius. | Legend D. | Copy. | Grade II | 16.00. |
| | Ashm. | | | |
| 6. Sestertius. | Legend ?. | Copy. | Grade II | — — |
| | B. M. | | | |

PLATE II

(TYPE: M. AND S. 67)

- | | | | | |
|---------------|--------------|-----------|---------|--------|
| 1. Dupondius. | Legend D. | Orthodox. | 12.71. | Ashm. |
| 2. Dupondius. | Legend D. | Copy. | Grade I | 13.03. |
| | Cirencester. | | | |
| 3. Dupondius. | Legend D. | Copy. | Grade I | — — |
| | Author. | | | |
| 4. Dupondius. | Legend D. | Copy. | Grade I | 14.25. |
| | York. | | | |
| 5. Dupondius. | Legend D. | Copy. | Grade I | 10.95. |
| | Ashm. | | | |
| 6. Dupondius. | Legend D. | Copy. | Grade I | 11.28. |
| | Lincoln. | | | |
| 7. Dupondius. | Legend ?. | Copy. | Grade I | 12.94. |
| | Maidstone. | | | |

⁴¹ The illustrations include a number of coins, either in the British Museum (= B. M.) or the Ashmolean Museum (= Ashm.), to which a British provenance cannot be guaranteed: these are inserted merely to give a fuller series of degraded types. References are to Mattingly and Sydenham (= M. and S.), whose descriptions of the imperial title are observed in the specification of legends without and with P. P. as Legends D and E.

BRONZE COINS OF CLAUDIUS I 33

8. Dupondius. Legend D. Copy. Grade I 9.12.
Dorchester (Dorset).
9. Dupondius. Legend D. Copy. Grade I 11.55.
Gloucester.
10. Dupondius. Legend D. Copy. Grade I 9.07.
Gloucester.
11. Dupondius. Legend ?. Copy. Grade II 12.06.
Dorchester (Dorset).
12. Dupondius. Legend ?. Copy. Grade II 9.20.
Ashm.

PLATE III

(TYPES: 1-8, M. AND S. 82; 9-10, M. AND S. 69).

1. Dupondius. Legend D. Orthodox. 14.07. Ashm.
2. Dupondius. Legend D. Copy. Grade I 11.67.
Cirencester.
3. Dupondius. Legend D. Copy. Grade I 10.47.
York.
4. Dupondius. Legend D. Copy. Grade I 14.27.
Ashm.
5. Dupondius. Legend ?. Copy. Grade II 11.36.
Ashm.
6. Dupondius. Legend ?. Copy. Grade III 10.20.
Lincoln.
7. Dupondius. Legend ?. Copy. Grade III — —
Stoke-on-Trent.
8. Dupondius. Legend ?. Copy. Grade III 7.80.
Gloucester.
9. As. Legend D. Orthodox. 12.42. Ashm.
10. As. Legend ?. Copy. Grade I 11.75. York

PLATE IV

(TYPE: M. AND S. 68)

1. As. Legend D. Orthodox. 11.32. Ashm.
2. As. Legend D. Copy. Grade I 12.07. B. M.
3. As. Legend D. Copy. Grade II 10.72. Ashm. •
4. As. Legend ?. Copy. Grade II — — B. M.
5. As. Legend ?. Copy. Grade II 10.65. Woodeaton
6. As. Legend ?. Copy. Grade II 4.99. Dorchester
(Oxon.).
7. As. Legend D. Copy. Grade II 7.75. Lincoln.
8. As. Legend D. Copy. Grade II 7.53. Cirencester.

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PLATE V. (ALL GRADE I)

(TYPE: M. AND S. 66)

1. As. Legend D. Orthodox. 11.77. Ashm.
2. As. Legend E. Orthodox. 12.38. Ashm.
3. As. Legend D. Copy. 10.05. York.
4. As. Legend D. Copy. — — B. M.
5. As. Legend ?. Copy. 12.20. Lincoln.
6. As. Legend D. Copy. 9.35. Ashm.
7. As. Legend ?. Copy. 8.54. Dorchester (Dorset).
8. As. Legend D. Copy. 8.50. Ashm.
9. As. Legend ?. Copy. 4.43. Dorchester (Dorset).
10. As. Legend D. Copy. 9.97. Dorchester (Dorset).
11. As. Legend D. Copy. 6.89. Silchester.
12. As. Legend ?. Copy. 5.79. Ewelme.

PLATE VI. (ALL GRADE II)

(TYPE: AS LAST PLATE)

1. As. Legend D. Copy. 7.59. Rochester.
2. As. Legend ?. Copy. 6.85. Asthall.
3. As. Legend D. Copy. 7.15. Dorchester (Dorset).
4. As. Legend ?. Copy. — — B. M.
5. As. Legend ?. Copy. 8.55. Bolitree.
6. As. Legend ?. Copy. 7.39. Ashm.
7. As. Legend ?. Copy. 7.14. Gloucester.
8. As. Legend ?. Copy. 4.83. Silchester.
9. As. Legend D. Copy. 6.32. Cirencester.
10. As. Legend ?. Copy. 6.10. Lincoln.

PLATE VII. (ALL GRADE III)

(TYPE: AS. LAST PLATE)

1. As. Legend D?. Copy. 4.99. Silchester.
2. As. Legend ?. Copy. 5.09. Gloucester.
3. As. Legend D?. Copy. 7.40. Winchester.
4. As. (Blundered.) Copy. 6.65. Ashm.
5. As. Legend D?. Copy. 8.75. Lincoln.
6. As. (Blundered.) Copy. 5.51. Lincoln.
7. As. (Blundered.) Copy. 4.53. Gloucester.
8. As. (Blundered.) Copy. — — B. M.
9. As. (Blundered.) Copy. — — B. M.

BRONZE COINS OF CLAUDIUS I 35

10. As. (Blundered.) Copy. — — B. M.
11. As. (Blundered.) Copy. — — B. M.
12. As. (Blundered.) Copy. — — B. M.

PLATE VIII. (ALL GRADE IV)

(TYPE: AS LAST PLATE)

- 1.⁴³ As. (Legend blundered.) Copy. — — B. M.
2. As. (Legend blundered.) Copy. 6.04. Maidstone.
3. As. (Legend blundered.) Copy. 4.60. Astrop.

⁴³ Nos. 1 and 2 are from the same *obverse* die: cf. p. 19 above.

PLATES



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BRITISH IMITATIONS OF CLAUDIAN COIN-TYPES



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PLATE II



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BRITISH IMITATIONS OF CLAUDIAN COIN-TYPES



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PLATES



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BRITISH IMITATIONS OF CLAUDIAN COIN-TYPES



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PLATE II



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BRITISH IMITATIONS OF CLAUDIAN COIN-TYPES



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PLATE III



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BRITISH IMITATIONS OF CLAUDIAN COIN-TYPES



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PLATE II



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BRITISH IMITATIONS OF CLAUDIAN COIN-TYPES



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BRITISH IMITATIONS OF CLAUDIAN COIN-TYPES



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BRITISH IMITATIONS OF CLAUDIAN COIN-TYPES



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BRITISH IMITATIONS OF CLAUDIAN COIN-TYPES



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PLATE VI



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BRITISH IMITATIONS OF CLAUDIAN COIN-TYPES



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PLATE V



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BRITISH IMITATIONS OF CLAUDIAN COIN-TYPES



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PLATE VI



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BRITISH IMITATIONS OF CLAUDIAN COIN-TYPES



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BRITISH IMITATIONS OF CLAUDIAN COIN-TYPES



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PLATE VIII



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NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 66



EPHEMERAL DECORATIONS

BY

HARROLD E. GILLINGHAM

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
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SEDANG
Order of Merit
Plaque

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EPHEMERAL DECORATIONS

BY HARROLD E. GILLINGHAM

The history of mankind records countless attempts of the individual to seize territory and set up principalities or kingdoms in which the one is exalted over the many. These would-be overlords were quick to avail themselves of the advantage which was given by the fondness for symbols of rank and distinction on the part of their followers. The number of decorations of honor and military or other orders is often greater for the pretentious or the ephemeral rulers than for their neighbors with holdings of much greater size and importance. These concessions to the vanity of their followers are presented for your consideration—often they will be found to have survived even the memory of those who once fingered them.

In some cases these decorations were awarded with much formality and ceremony. In many instances elaborate certificates of award were bestowed when these decorations were given. Very little has been published concerning them and when these transitory rulers passed, historians made brief, if any, mention of these pieces.

The majority of decorations described in this volume were created by adventurers—aspiring rulers whose appeals for financial and moral support of their schemes were made to impressionable persons. None of them were recognized by an authoritative

2 EPHEMERAL DECORATIONS

government. They are classed as unofficial or family orders and the wearing of them in public was prohibited by the laws of several countries.¹

Some of these unofficial family orders have been omitted in this review. The reader must bear in mind there is no public or official record of them or of their names, their founders or their statutes. Even the makers frequently know little or nothing of the pieces they are asked to produce. Sometimes it is by the merest chance that one secures the decorations themselves or any record of their statutes or of the founders. Two pieces in the writer's collection have baffled the most persistent research. Some of the pieces herein given have been acquired at auctions, in the catalogues of which they were improperly described; others from owners apparently ignorant, or desiring to mislead by appearing so. Those of Counani were sold as medals of the Belgian Congo. Another was mistakenly attributed by several dealers of repute to Araucania.

Extinct orders have occasionally been revived by descendants of the family influential in their origin—when these have had no governmental or

¹ In France, the wearing of such are prohibited by the rules and regulations of the National Order of the Legion of Honour and by article 259 of the penal code of France. Both the wearing and the traffic in them were carefully watched by the authorities; many cases were taken into court and in some instances conviction was secured. Hence the recipients are not especially proud of their possession and make little publicity of the award, not caring to give evidence of their gullibility in having been impressed by the pseudo king or prince.

other official standing they are to be classed in a category entirely different from the original one. The Order of the Lusignan family is an illustration.

The information that has been gathered here regarding these orders and decorations is passed on in the hope that it will add zest to the study of the careers and adventures of these aspiring kinglets, and perhaps throw some light upon the period in which they have for a brief time played minor parts on the stage of history.

THE DUKEDOM OF AMELIA, FLORIDA

It is hard to realize that as late as 1817 a part of these United States was the scene of an attempt to set up an independent government; but such was the case following the second war with England (1812-1815). Florida was at that time a Spanish possession, while Mexico and others of the South American Spanish colonies had proclaimed their independence and severed their connections with the mother country. The Spanish commerce was preyed on by 'privateers' who were little if anything short of being pirates. Ports in which seized vessels could be sold were limited. Amelia Island on which Fernandina was located offered an excellent harbor whose advantages were apparent.

It was in the second decade of the nineteenth century that one Gregor MacGregor played his role in the history of the western hemisphere. In his youth he is said to have served in the British army but he went to Caracas, Venezuela, in 1811 and

4 EPHEMERAL DECORATIONS

aided in the struggle for the independence of that country. He became an adjutant general under General Miranda, and later served under the great Bolivar, who awarded him the Order of Liberatador.

Five years later he conceived the idea of capturing Florida and visited the resident deputies of Venezuela, New Granada, Mexico and the Rio de la Plata, in Philadelphia and New York who commissioned him on March 31, 1817, to proceed on his own responsibility and to seize both East and West Florida. This commission was signed by Lino de Clemente (Deputy for Venezuela), Pedro Gaul (Deputy for New Granada, and as Proxy for F. Zarate, Deputy from Mexico) and Martin Thompson (Deputy from Rio de la Plata).

With this rather questionable authority MacGregor solicited funds and recruits for his enterprise in Philadelphia, Baltimore and Charleston. Under an assumed name, he purchased a schooner at the latter city and proceeded first to Savannah where more recruits were obtained, and then to the island of Amelia, Florida, where there was a small Spanish garrison. Prior to his departure from Savannah and in connivance with merchants of that city, advance representatives had been sent to Fernandino to prepare the inhabitants of Amelia for the prospective freedom from Spanish rule. When MacGregor reached the port he had little trouble in capturing the town and overcoming its small garrison on June 29, 1817. After the Articles of Capitulation were signed, MacGregor ran up his

flag, the "Green Cross of Florida," which was a white flag with a green cross of St. George in the centre. On July 1, 1817, MacGregor issued the following Proclamation to the Inhabitants of Amelia and Florida.

PROCLAMATION
OF THE LIBERATING ARMY

Gregor MacGregor, Brigadier General of the armies of the United Provinces of New Granada and Venezuela, and General-in-Chief of the Armies for the Two Floridas, commissioned by the Supreme Director of Mexico, South America, &c.

To the Inhabitants of the Island of Amelia:

Your Brethren of Mexico, Buenos Ayres, New Granada and Venezuela, who are so gloriously engaged in fighting for that inestimable gift which nature has bestowed upon her children, and which all civilized nations have endeavored to secure by social compacts—desirous that all the sons of Columbia should participate in that imprescriptible right—have confided to me the command of the land and naval forces.

Peaceable inhabitants of Amelia! Do not entertain any danger of oppression from the troops which are now in possession of your Island, either for your persons, property or religion: however various the climes in which they may have received their birth, they are nevertheless your brethren and friends. Their first object will be to protect your rights; your property will be held sacred and inviolable; and everything done to promote your real interests by co-operation with you in thereby becoming the instruments for the commencement of a national emancipation. Unite your forces with ours, until America shall be placed by her high destinies to that rank among nations that the Most High has appointed—a country, by its extent and fertility, offering the greatest sources of wealth and happiness.

6 EPHEMERAL DECORATIONS

The moment is important. Let it not escape without having commenced the great work of delivering Columbia from that tyranny which has been exercised in all parts, and which, to continue its power, has kept the people in the most degrading ignorance, depriving them of the advantages resulting from a free intercourse with other nations and of that prosperity of wholesome laws, which you will be enabled properly to appreciate only when you will have become a free people.

You who, ill-advised, have abandoned your homes, whatever may be the place of your birth, your political or religious opinions, return without delay, and resume your wonted occupations. Deprecate the evil counsels your enemies may disseminate among you. Listen to the voice of honor, to the promises of a sincere and disinterested friend, and return to the fulfillment of those duties which nature has imposed upon you. He who will not swear to maintain that independence which has been declared will be allowed six months to settle his affairs, to sell or remove his property without molestation, and enjoy all the advantages which the laws grant in such cases.

Friends or enemies of our present system of emancipation, whoever you be, what I say unto you is the language of Truth; it is the only language becoming a man of honor, and as such I swear to adhere religiously to the tenor of this proclamation.

Dated at Head Quarters, Amelia Island,

June 30th, 1817

GREGOR MACGREGOR

Joseph De Yribarren, secretary.

Following the proclamation to the people, MacGregor issued one to his soldiers and sailors, offering to lead them to glory in South America, after the operations in Florida should be completed. MacGregor said:

Soldiers and Sailors!

The 29th of June will be forever memorable in the

annals of the independence of South America. On that day, a body of brave men, animated by a noble zeal for the happiness of mankind, advanced within musket shot of the guns at Fernandina, and awed the enemy into immediate capitulation, notwithstanding his very favorable position. This will be an everlasting proof of what the sons of freedom can achieve when fighting in a great and glorious cause against a Government, which has trampled on all the natural and essential rights which descend from God to man. In the name of the independent governments of South America, which I have the honor to represent, I thank you for this first proof of your ardor and devotion to her cause; and I trust that, impelled by the same noble principles, you will soon be able to free the whole of the Floridas from tyranny and oppression.

Then shall I hope to lead you to the continent of South America to gather fresh laurels in freedom's cause. Your names will be transmitted to the latest posterity, as the first who formed a solid basis for the emancipation of those delightful regions, now in the great part groaning under the oppressive hand of Spanish despotism. The children of South America will re-echo your names in their songs; your heroic deeds will be handed down to succeeding generations, and will cover yourselves and your latest posterity with a never-fading wreath of glory. The path of honor is now open before you. Let those who distinguish themselves look forward with confidence to promotion and preferment.

To perpetuate the memory of your valor I have decreed, and do decree, a shield of honor to be worn on the left arm of every individual who has assisted or co-operated in the reduction of the Island of Amelia. This shield will be round, of the diameter of four inches, made of red cloth, with this device, "Vencedores de Amelia, 29th of June, de 1817, 7y1,"¹ surrounded by a wreath of Laurel and Oak leaves, embroidered in gold

¹ The formula following the date, 7y1, indicates the seventh year of the independence of Venezuela, dating from the first declaration, and the first year of Florida's independence.

for the officers, in yellow silk for the men. The colors of the corps of national artillery, the first squadron of cavalry, and the regiment of Columbia, will have the same device embroidered on the right angle of the colors.

Long live the Conquerors of Amelia!

Dated at Head-Quarters, San Fernandina,
1st of July, 1817, 7&1.

GREGOR MacGREGOR

Jos. De Yribarren, secretary.

After this business-like establishment of a "free country" MacGregor founded an Admiralty Court, established a post-office, began the printing of a newspaper and invited settlers from the United States and the West Indies.

It is not to be supposed that these actions of MacGregor were outside the cognizance of United States authorities. It is probable that they would not have attained even the partial success which rewarded them if the equipment with facilities and the provisioning of his forces had not been winked at by the government. When the high-handed treatment of residents by his followers lost for MacGregor the support which greeted his first success the federal government found it advisable to step in, and as a result MacGregor's possession of the island lasted only a little over four months. He left in 1817 for New Providence and thence for England, where he again attempted to solicit aid in his adventurous schemes. Two years later we find him attempting the capture of Porto Bello, but without success. The next year he landed on the Mosquito coast of Honduras, where he preempted



The Amelia Medal

a large territory and styled himself "His Highness, Gregor, Cacique of Poyais" and prepared to govern the Indians of that land. This venture failing he returned to England and France where he spent some time, finally returning to Venezuela in 1839 where he was restored to citizenship and his military rank in the army of that country. He died in Caracas in 1845 aged about sixty years.

During the occupancy of the island of Amelia a bronze medal, 30 mm. in diameter was issued. On the obverse was a double-pointed Greek cross within a laurel wreath. Around this device is inscribed *DUCE MAC GREGORIO LIBERTAS FLORIDARIUM*. On the reverse centre, within a laurel wreath is 29 JUNII 1817, the whole encircled by *AMALIA VENI VIDI VICI*. A specimen of this very rare medal is in the collection of the American Numismatic Society; another was described in the Numismatic Chronicle for 1916, p. 196.

When MacGregor was in the service of New Granada (now Columbia) in 1819, and attempted the attack on Porto Bello, he promoted his colonel, George Woodbine, to the rank of brigadier general for his valuable services rendered at that time and decorated him with the "*Military Order of the Green Cross*."

Nothing further is known of this decoration and we are justified in assuming that it resembled his "Green Cross of Florida" flag—heretofore mentioned—which was a white field with one vertical and one horizontal green stripe intersecting at the centre.

ARAUCANIA

The district called Araucania is in southern Chile and included the territory south of the Bio-Bio River to the Gulf of Ancud—that is, nearly all of the modern provinces of Bio-Bio, Arauco, Malleco, Cautin and Valdivia—from about 37° to 40° of south latitude.

The Indians of Araucania were numerous and warlike, and successfully resisted the Incas in the fifteenth century. From the time their territory was first invaded by Valdivia (1544), they waged continual warfare against the Spaniards. Valdivia was killed by them in 1553; so was his successor, Martin Garcia Loyala (1598). Twice the whites were completely driven from the country. While originally the Araucanian Indians had been roving and savage, they had by this time become agriculturists and cattle raisers.

Orllie-Antoine de Tounens (born 1820 died 1878) was an advocate or solicitor of Périgueux, Dordogne, France. Tiring of a small practice and dreaming of kingdoms beyond the seas, he left France at the end of June, 1858. His purpose was, he said, “to carry Christianity and the elements of civilization to the inhabitants of Araucania.” He embarked at Southampton and on August 22, 1858, arrived at the Chilean port of Coquimbo. In 1860, he entered the country of the Araucanian Indians styling himself Prince Orllie-Antoine de Tounens. On November 17, 1860, he declared a constitutional monarchy with himself as king. Three days

later he annexed a neighboring section of Patagonia, taking the title of King of Araucania and Patagonia. Within a year he was in difficulties with the Chilean authorities, whose territory he occupied. He was captured and imprisoned in Los Angeles in January, 1862. After his trial he was sent back to France as a madman, where in 1863, he spoke of his kingdom as Araucania and Patagonia, or New France. He spent much time in endeavouring to obtain financial assistance and adherents to his cause, writing extensively for various journals and published several pamphlets on his kingdom. To reward those who assisted him, he created the *Ordre Royale de l'Étoile du Sud*. The rules and regulations for this order were printed by Alean Levy, 61 Rue Lafitte, Paris, and the decorations were made by G. Lemaitre, 346 Rue St-Honoré of that city.

This decoration is a four-armed gold cross, double-pointed and ball-tipped, enamelled green and edged with white, having gold stars in the angles. In the center is a blue-enamelled oval bearing a white cross on which is superimposed a gold crown. The oval is encircled by a green laurel wreath with four white stars. The reverse oval of blue bears the gold initials O. A. surrounded by a white band inscribed in gold *AUSPICE STELLA*. The ribbon is red with narrow black and blue bands each side.

Antoine I, as he styled himself, had coins minted in Germany in 1874; One Peso and Two Centavo pieces.¹

¹ Cf. Spink & Son, Numismatic Circular, July 1904, p. 7684. *Die Münzprägung Antoine I. von Araukanien und Patagonien* by Prof. Nadrowski.



ARAUCANIA
Ordre Royal de l'Étoile du Sud

The occasion for this coinage is uncertain, as it is not known that he ever returned to South America. He died in 1878 and was succeeded by his son, who appears to have taken the title of Antoine II, and who created new statutes for the *Order of the Southern Star*. The new style of cross was the same in all particulars save that the reverse bore *ARAUCANIE PATAGONIE* instead of *Auspice Stella*.

Antoine II also created a silver medal 35 mm. in diameter and surmounted by a laurel wreath. On the obverse is his bust encircled by the inscription *ANTOINE II ROI D'ARAUCANIE ET DE PATAGONIE*.* On the reverse is the figure of a horse bearing a nude man, with a laurel wreath in the right hand and a sword at the side. Above is *JUSTITIA ET PAX* and below in the field are nine stars. The ribbon is of five equal stripes; green at the centre, white on either side and blue at the edges. These were the colours of the flag which Antoine I adopted in 1863.

No date is assigned for this medal nor do the authorities tell us what became of the Kingdom of Araucania and Patagonia, though this is not hard to imagine. It is not unlikely that specimens of the Cross and of the Medal have found resting places in the cabinets of collectors.

J. H. Lawrence-Archer, in *The Orders of Chivalry*, London 1887, page 332, gives two orders formed or projected by Ant. Orélie for Araucania and Patagonia. The *Order of the Star of the South*, or *Constellation of the Southern Cross*, and the *Order of the Steel Crown*.

In the writer's collection is a proclamation of "Prince O-A. de Tounens, roi d'Araucania et de Patagonie ou Nouvelle France" dated December 9, 1872, wherein he mentions publishing in *La Couronne d'Acier* the proclamations and notices to his subjects and those who aided his cause. He also refers to the "Insignes de l'ordre royale de la Couronne d'Acier" and a "Médaille Commémorative" but neither a description nor specimens of either have come to my notice.

Mr. G. Lemaitre of Paris has the printed regulations for two orders; the "*Ordre Royale de l'Étoile du Sud, institué le 24 Juin 1872 par S. M. Orllie-Antoine Ier. Paris,*" printed by Alean Levy, 61 Rue Lafitte. Also the *Statuts de l'Ordre des Décorations et Médailles de la Constellation du Sud, Paris*, printed by Guerie et Cie, 26 rue des Petits Carreaux. This latter says the order was created by Orllie-Antoine I and that final regulations were made by "S. M. Achille Ier." The son had evidently changed his name from Antoine II to Achilles I. No date is mentioned in this pamphlet, but as Orllie-Antoine I died in 1878 it must have been after that date when these final regulations were printed.

There has been some controversy over the way the Prince de Tounens spelled his name. The correct form is shown in the publications above quoted; likewise, in others in the writer's collection, *Manifeste D'Orllie-Antoine Ier Roi d'Araucanie et de Patagonie*, 1863, Paris, à la Librairie Thevelin, and *Orllie-Antoine Ier. Roi d'Araucanie et de Patagonie*,

son Avènement au Trône et sa captivité au Chili, 1863, Paris, à la Librairie Thevelin, the later publication showing on its title page the arms of the kingdom. He signed himself "Pce. O.-A. de Tounens."

CHANCELLERIE DE L'OBOLE

Among the other unplaced decorations which might be classed as ephemeral, the above seems to have been instituted during the reign of Napoleon III by some unscrupulous persons whose main object seems to have been to fleece the charitably inclined citizens of France, by raising money for charities which never existed. Just who instigated this scheme is uncertain, but their plan was soon exposed and the few who had received the decoration were apparently only too willing to part with them.

The decoration is a blue-enamelled maltese cross, double-pointed and ball-tipped, with fleur-de-lis in the angles and surmounted by palm and laurel branches. In the centre of the cross is an oval medallion bearing the figure of St. Martin dividing his cloak with a beggar, surrounded by a red enamelled band inscribed *CHANCELLERIE DE L'OBOLE*. The reverse is plain and the ribbon is light blue moiré. The illustration is from a specimen in the writer's collection.



Chancellerie de l'Obole

COUNANI

Counani (*Cunany or Cunani*) is a small South American town on a river of the same name in the extreme northeastern corner of Brazil, near French Guiana, about three degrees north of the equator. The lands adjacent had long been a territory contested by France and Brazil, although its proximity to the equator makes it unsuited to settlement by northern peoples. It seems the last place one would select for a kingdom. In 1887, some French citizens decided to settle the disputes as to ownership by seizing the country and proclaiming the *Independent Republic of Counani*. Jules Gross of Vanves (Seine), a writer and author of several works on geography, was selected as President; Ministers were appointed and a headquarters in Paris was chosen. One of the first acts of the President was the creation of the *Order of the Star of Counani*.

Gross died in 1901 and a new 'dynasty' was founded by one, Adolphe Brezet, who proclaimed himself ruler under the title of *Vyana Assu Ier*. He created laws and arms for his republic, "de Gueules, étoilées d'argent aux rayons posés en coeur," with a device *JUSTICE ET LIBERTE*, and below on a scroll *JE MAINTENDRAI PAR LA RAISON ET LA FORCE*. The so-called government was short-lived; after being driven from South America by the authorities of Brazil and French Guiana, and experiencing a rather precarious

existence in Paris, the headquarters was moved to London in 1905.

This is all that has been learned of the Order of the Star of Counani, and two medals in the writer's collection probably indicate the extent of the decorations of this short-lived republic. The medals are both in a low grade of silver or white metal and 30 mm. in diameter. One, the MEDAL FOR ORGANIZERS, has on the obverse the arms of the country as before described, a shield with a five-pointed star in the centre. This is surmounted by a semi-circle of rays and *LIBERTÉ JUSTICE*. Below and at the sides is a wreath, a branch of the coffee plant and a branch of maize or corn. Below this on a scroll is *JE MAINTENDRAI PAR LA RAISON ET LA FORCE*. On the reverse, in a plain field is *AUX ORGANISATEURS DE LA PATRIE* and a star. This medal is surmounted by a circular wreath of laurel.

The other, or SERVICE MEDAL, bears on the obverse a five-pointed star encircled by a wreath, the left branch being of the coffee plant, and the right, a branch of corn or maize. On the reverse is *ETATS LIBRE DU COUNANI * BONS SERVICES*. This medal is surmounted by an oblong oak wreath for holding the ribbon, the colors of which are not known.

LUSIGNAN

The House of Lusignan was one of the most illustrious of the feudal families of France. Originating in Poitou, for a long time its members dominated the Marche and Angoumois. Raymond de Forez, the first chief of the house of Lusignan is best remembered because of his marriage with Mélusine.¹ Legend has it that before (and after) her marriage she was under the spell of an evil spirit; if she married, she was to be free of the spell for six days of the week. She married Raymond extracting a promise from him that he would not question her activities on Saturdays. His curiosity, one week, finally got the better of him and he looked through the key-hole of the door and saw her transformed into a half-human-half-fish like being. Mélusine learned that he had broken his promise and left him. The story of Mélusine has been made the subject of a romance by Jean d'Arras and has appeared in many languages, including English, Spanish, Dutch and German and has played a large part as well in the poetry of France and Germany.²

She—Mélusine—seems to have been proudly recognized as the ancestress of the houses of Lusignan, of Luxembourg, even by the Emperor, Henry VII of the Holy Roman Empire (1282–1313).

¹ *Larousse Illustré*. "Mélusine, la fée la plus grande de France, que le romans de chevalerie et de légendes du Poitou représentent comme l'aieule et la protectrice de la maison de Lusignan."

² See also Baring-Gould's, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*.

Over the door of an old church at Fougères (Ille-et-Vilaine) is a small stone figure of Mélusine, with a mirror in her hand, combing her long hair. One of the towers of the chateau—a great mediaeval ruin—bears the name of Tour de Mélusine. The chateau was destroyed in 1166 by Henry II of England. The tower of Mélusine was built by Jeanne de Fougères, who married one of the house of Lusignan in 1256. To this day the inhabitants speak with pride of this tower, and of the Mélusine over the church door.

During the crusades of the twelfth century, Guy de Lusignan, a descendant of Henry, left his manors and his family to carry the cross in defence of the Holy Sepulchre. He became King of Jerusalem in 1186 through his marriage to Sybilla, sister of Baldwin, and six years later, King of Cyprus, having secured that island from Richard Coeur de Lion. His descendants reigned in Cyprus nearly three hundred years, the last of the line being Catherine Cornaro who had married James II of Lusignan, whom she survived. Princes of this house became kings of Armenia (1342 to 1475).

As the kings of Jerusalem were allowed to carry in their armorial bearings the Cross of Jerusalem, the descendants of Guy de Lusignan bore as arms (after 1342), a crowned shield quartered as follows: Cross of Jerusalem or Holy Sepulchre (a cross potencée with similar smaller crosses in each of the angles); Lusignan (a silver field with three blue bands across, and a lion brochant); Cyprus (a gold field,

with lion), and Armenia (a silver field with lion). In some of the Crosses of the Holy Sepulchre, the small crosses in the angles are *not* *potencée*—that is, the ends are not shaped like a T.¹ But in the arms of the Lusignan family, as shown by illustration, these small crosses *are* *potencée*.

In the last quarter of the last century, there was developed in Paris quite a traffic in decorations and titles of nobility among a certain class. Advertisements frequently appeared in French papers, some of which are in the writer's possession, and how many were victimized can only be estimated. There were several official investigations, but as the decorations offered for sale were not those of France, that government could do little to suppress the traffic. Among the decorations offered by one of the 'Agents' (as they styled themselves) were those of Venezuela, Hawaii, Liberia, Persia, Spain, Portugal, and the "Ordre Royal de Lusignan, Chypre, Arménie et Jérusalem (bleu, blanc, très recherché)—Chevalier, 1,200; Officier, 2,000; Grand Officier, 4,000 francs. (Pas de droit à payer; tolérée par le gouvernement)."² The prices of others varied from 1,000 to 5,000 francs. Half the required sum

¹ While most of the writers of the 17th century state that the cross of Jerusalem is "potencée with four small crosses *the same* in the angles," yet they illustrate it with the small crosses *plain*, except Giustinian, who shows the small crosses *potencée*. It is the opinion of the writer that their text is correct and the illustrations are not, for the reason that the engraver probably felt he had not sufficient room to so engrave the smaller crosses,

² Daguin mss.

was payable on application, the other half upon delivery of the brevet or certificate of award which in some cases was quite elaborate. An *Agent* who signed himself "*Charles*," stated in October, 1887, that he could deliver the Order of Lusignan in eight hours, the Red-Cross of Spain in one month, and the others in three or four months.¹

In 1880, an effort was made to form a Society with the title *Aréopage des Décorés de toutes les Nations*; certainly a high-sounding name.² The central office was at 246 Cours Garibaldi, Palmi, Calabria, Italy (a remote enough place, to be sure). "Son Altesse Royale Mme. la Princesse Marie de Lusignan" was one of the chief patrons; certain facts concerning members of the Lusignan family living in the nineteenth century are known. The last GUY DE LUSIGNAN was born in Constantinople, March 2, 1831, son of Amaury-Joseph de Lusignan (known in Turkey as Yousouf Nar Bey). Guy was known in Turkey as Calfa (Chief) NAR-BEY. His wife, MARIE-LOUISE-JOSEPHINE LE GOUPIL was born at Allonville-Bellefosse (Seine Inferieure),

¹ Letter in possession of writer.

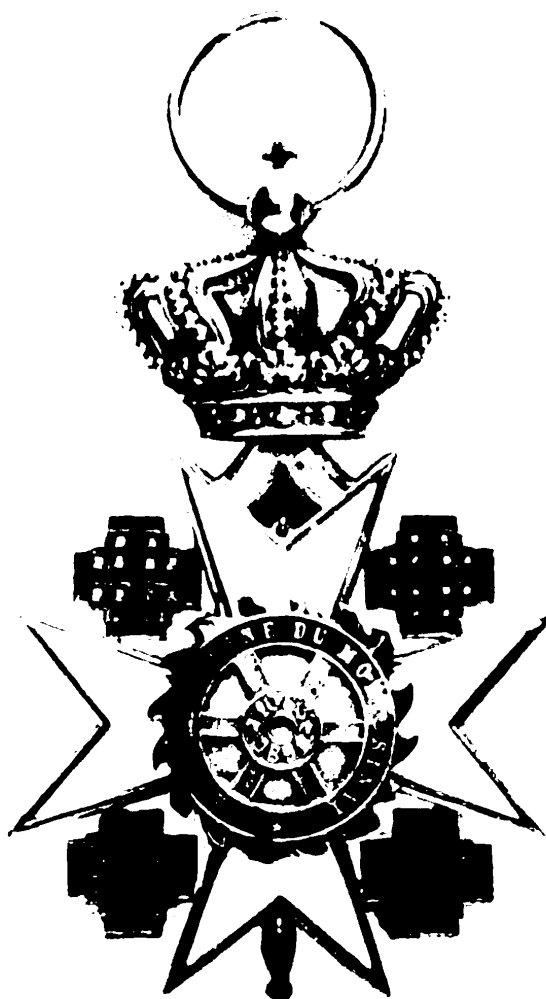
² The writer has in his collection the manuscript notes, correspondence, numerous newspaper clippings and records of Orders of Chivalry, Official and Proposed, which were collected by M. Arther Daguin, "Officier de l'Instruction Publique, Membre et Lauréat de nombreuses Académies et Sociétés Savantes," an authority and a prolific writer on this subject. His books were published between 1877 and 1894, and he had a good opportunity from his position in the country to collect many things of interest. It is from this collection that much of the information concerning the Lusignan family is derived.

December 28, 1833. Guy and Marie were married in Paris August 12, 1863. The birth of two children is recorded.

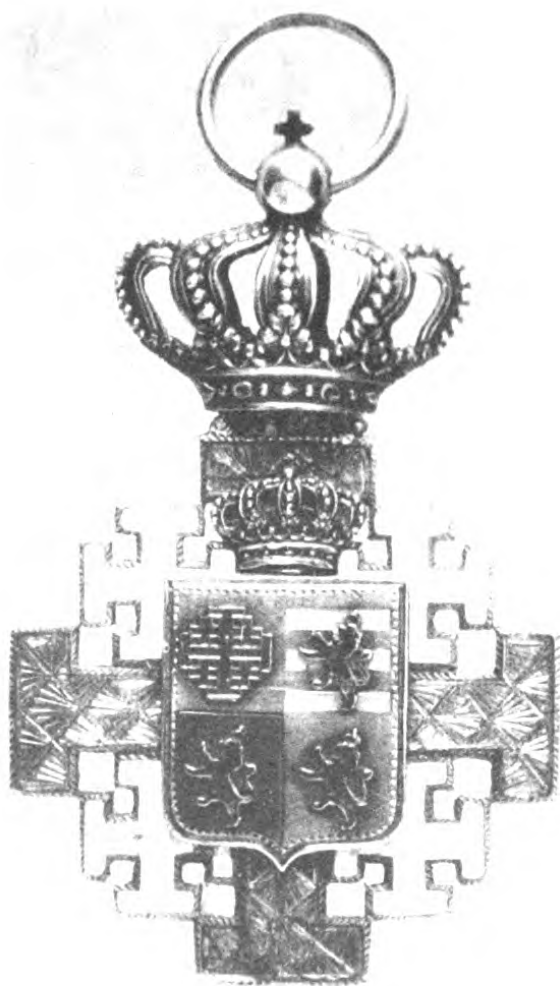
The ORDER OF SAINT CATHERINE is thought by some to have been founded as early as 1063 by the priests of the monastery of Saint Catherine established by Justinian I on Mount Sinai. It is here that the body of this Alexandrian Saint, according to the mediaeval legend, was believed to have been carried by angels on her death. This was a military order formed for the purpose of protecting her shrine and pilgrims to Mount Sinai.

It would be difficult to establish just when this order lapsed and there is much disputation as to the form of the insignia, in which, however, the wheel of Saint Catherine seems certainly to have figured. What concerns us here is the attempt to revive this order in 1891 by one styling himself Guy de Lusignan, Royal Prince of Jerusalem, Cyprus and Armenia, who gave to the the new order the name of the ROYAL ORDER OF SAINTE CATHERINE OF MOUNT SINAI. Statutes were framed and printed¹ stating the objects; which were to reward persons distinguished in the Arts, Sciences and Letters; or who contributed to charities which were patronized by the Grand Master. Needless to say Guy was the Grand Master, and as one of the articles of the statutes mentioned that applicants

¹ Printed by Morris père et fils, 64 Rue Amelot, Paris, 1896. (In Writer's possession.)



LUSIGNAN
Order of St. Catherine
of Mt. Sinai



LUSIGNAN
Order of Melusine

for admission should address their desires to him.¹ it seems to indicate that one might be able to purchase the honor. Women and foreigners were also admitted to membership.

The insignia is a white-enamelled four-armed cross with double points and surmounted by a royal crown. In each of the angles is a gold cross of Jerusalem, similar to the badge of the Pontifical Order of the Holy Sepulchre. Superimposed on the cross is a red-enamelled sword, point up, and a wheel with teeth (the instrument of torture of Saint Catherine). In the center of the wheel is the arms of the House of Lusignan, previously described. On the band of the wheel appears the motto of the order, *POUR BAILLER SA FOI*. On the reverse band of the wheel is *SAINT-CATHERINE DU MONT-SINAI*, and in the center, *1063-1891*. The ribbon is red, lined on the edge with black and light blue. The plaque is a crowned faceted star of eight points bearing a large model of the obverse side of the cross.

With the death of the last member of the Lusignan family about 1905, this, as well as the Order of Mélusine, became extinct. Leon de Lusignan, the son of Guy the founder of this new order, was living in Constantinople in 1882. This may account for the number of decorations of this family occasionally found there for sale.

¹ In 1896 Guy gave his address as *Villa de Lusignan*, Neuilly, Paris. Inquiries here in 1925 and a letter sent to that address brought no information of any member of the family.

When a person was honoured (?) with this decoration, he evidently had to purchase the insignia, as a footnote in the statutes (page 9) states that it can be purchased of the principal makers of decorations in Paris.

ORDER OF MÉLUSINE. The only record of the foundation of this order is by a member of the Lusignan family who states it was created in 1186,¹ the year that Guy de Lusignan was crowned King of Jerusalem. It is said that Queen Sibylla founded the Order and took its name from the guardian spirit and legendary ancestress of the House of Lusignan. Sibylla was the sister of Baldwin (the Leper), the seventh king, and married Guy de Lusignan, the ninth king of Jerusalem. The objects of the society are humanitarian, scientific, artistic and religious, "et le dévouement à la Maison de Lusignan."

The order appears to have been revived in 1881 by Marie de Lusignan, wife of Guy and the so-called Royal Princess of Jerusalem, Cyprus and Armenia. She was Grand-Mistress, conferred the grades, and signed the diplomas of nomination, but the statutes of the order state that the dignitaries could find (or buy) the insignias at the principal makers of decorations in Paris. Evidently these were not gifts on her part; and from correspondence and newspaper clippings² it seems that the order was

¹ Marie de Lusignan, *Statutes Ordre de Mélusine, Paris 1888*, printed by Morris Père et Fils, 64 rue Amelot. (In writer's possession.)

² Daguin Mss.

easily obtainable, with a brevet also, if one were willing to pay the price, plus a small commission.

Article 13 of the Statutes of the Order states that "All applicants for the Order must address their request to the Secretary of the Order, at the Hotel de Lusignan, 48 Avenue Victor Hugo, Paris." Inquiry at the above address in the summer of 1925 failed to bring any information about the family of Lusignan. The property had recently been sold and a large apartment house built on the site.

The cross of all grades is gold, save that of Chevalier, which is silver. It is a blue-enamelled cross potencée, with a small white-enamelled cross of the same form in each of the angles. Superimposed on this is a crowned shield enamelled with the Arms of Lusignan. The four parts of this shield carry the Arms of Jerusalem, of Lusignan, of Cyprus and of Armenia. The cross is surmounted by a royal crown. The statutes do not describe the reverse of the cross, and from known specimens they vary considerably. That in the writer's collection bears a shield inscribed in relief, *ORDRE DE MÉLUSINE 1186*. Another piece known is plain on the reverse; and in still a third the small crosses in the angles are *not* potencée. The ribbon is light blue edged with white, the colors of Lusignan.

The Order of Mélusine was awarded to several Americans, among them being the Honourable John Welsh, once Minister to England, who in 1879 was created a Chevalier d'Honneur.¹ John Sartain, the

¹Scharf & Westcott's History of Philadelphia, vol. I p. 843.

Philadelphia engraver of note, was likewise awarded the order, probably after he had engraved a portrait of Marie de Lusignan.

MEDAL OF MERIT. This was created on December 25, 1898, at the Villa de Lusignan, Neuilly, Paris, by Guy de Lusignan. In the statutes concerning the medal, it states that the Prince resolves to follow the example of his ancestors, that of rewarding meritorious service to the Arts, Sciences, Industry and Humanity, not only among natives but to foreigners and to women worthy of decoration. The medal was of gold, having on the obverse the bust of the founder and the family motto, *POUR LOYAUTE MAINTENIR*. On the reverse is the inscription, *MEDAILLE DE MERIT DE LA MAISON ROYAL DE LUSIGNAN CRÉE LE 25 DECEMBRE 1898*. The ribbon is light blue edged with red.

It is believed that this medal, like the two family orders, Mélusine and St. Catherine of Mt. Sinai, was readily obtainable if desired, for a financial consideration.

ORDER OF THE SWORD OF CYPRUS or SILENCE. This appears to have been founded by Guy de Lusignan in the year 1195 A. D. The decoration was an oval of gold, bearing in the center a gold-handled silver sword (point down) encircled by a gold band inscribed *SECVRITAS REGNI*. This was suspended from a collar of white love-knots interlaced with gold letters *S* and *R*—the first letters of the motto. Some writers call this the



LUSIGNAN

Order of the Sword of Cyprus and Silence

Order of Silence and give the insignia as a sword piercing the letter *S*, and the inscription *PRO FIDE SERVANDA*, the letter *S* signifying *Silence*, and the sword, defense of the faith. Mennen gives the insignia as the crowned Arms of Lusignan encircled by a collar of *S*'s (for Silence) from which is suspended an inverted sword piercing an S-shaped scroll inscribed *POUR LOYAUTE MAINTENIR*. The order flourished in Cyprus during the reign of the Lusignan family in that island. When they ceded the island to the Republic of Venice about 1476 A. D. the Doges of the Republic continued as Grand Masters until 1688, at which time the records of its continuance disappear. The order seems to have been revived in Turkey about 1885, and plentifully bestowed, probably by Prince Louis of Lusignan or Guy, who revived the Order of St. Catherine of Mount Sinai.

As several members of the Lusignan family were living in Turkey and Armenia during the latter part of the previous century, and as specimens of the decoration have been obtained there recently, it is probable that the order was continued and awarded on terms similar to that of Mélusine. A print of the last Guy de Lusignan in a booklet published in 1892 (in the writer's possession) shows him wearing the collar of the order and the plaque. The latter is of three ten-pointed stars, one on the other, the middle one having ball-tipped points and in the center on a blue field, a gold letter *S* pierced by a silver sword.

ORDER OF SAINT BLAISE OF ARMENIA.

This was founded in the twelfth century by the Lusignan kings of Armenia. It appears to have been short-lived and is not mentioned in some of the accounts of that family.

The insignia is said to have been a gold cross, though one authority says it was red, having in the center an image of the patron saint of the family, Saint Blaise.

THE EMPIRE OF SAHARA

A stroller through the Latin Quarter of Paris in the summer of 1903 would no doubt have been surprised to see chalked on the walls and signboards "Vive l'Empereur du Sahara" or "Vive Jacques Ier" and would have wondered what it meant or who it was "whose game was empires."

The so-called "Sugar King of France," Jean Gustav Lebaudy, died in Paris in 1883, leaving a fortune which was estimated at the time as 60,000,000 francs. One half went to the widow, the other half was divided between his two sons. Max Lebaudy, the younger, was known as the "Petit Sucrier" or 'the little sugar bowl'; Jacques, the older, was styled "Le Grand Sucrier." The latter began at once a life of luxury and extravagance. He became a prince of the boulevards and a lavish spender on actresses, dinners and automobiles. In June, 1903, he organized an expedition of adventure for commercial purposes, gathering around him many soldiers of fortune and some who were members of

the Legion of Honour. This force, in three vessels, armed with sixteen rapid-fire Hotchkiss guns, with plenty of ammunition and small arms, landed on the West coast of North Africa between Cape Jubi and Cape Bojador, opposite the Canary Islands. "This shall be an Empire and on the spot I proclaim myself the Emperor of Sahara," said Lebaudy. The territory thus taken had about 200 miles of coast line. It had never been fully occupied by any recognized power, and was considered one of the most dangerous coasts of Africa. The natives were a mixture of Moor and negro and were constantly at war with each other. It is said that Lebaudy selected Troya as the name for his capital, even though some of the Parisians, knowing the origin of his wealth, suggested that it be called "Sucreville."

Some writers claim Jacques Lebaudy was never within a thousand miles of his capital city, but the landing by his expedition on this coast created much excited comment in the press in England and Spain, when it was charged with being a scheme of the French to acquire more territory. This was promptly denied by the French Foreign Office. Lebaudy sent an emissary to The Hague Tribunal to demand recognition of his Empire; he established a newspaper and adopted a pink flag on which was an L. He also founded THE ORDER OF THE SAHARA, with which he could honour his adherents and benefactors. An Emperor's Guard was dreamed of, which was to have rivalled that of Napoleon I.

Needless to say, the movement amused, rather

than worried, Europe. As subjects were scarce, it was suggested that these might be secured for five francs per day. Lebaudy went to London with Colonel C. E. Gourand as Chief Assistant and purchased a crown and robes, preparatory to his coronation; money flowed like water, but the great event never took place. The new Empire of the Sahara did not prosper; Lebaudy even refused to succour some of his men who were captured by the Moors, and the *Paris Journal* tried to raise money to fit out an expedition for their relief.

Jacques Lebaudy was next heard from in 1908, when he arrived in New York. To establish a legal residence, he rented Lock Box No. 1655 at the New York Post Office. He is said to have lost over a million dollars in his speculations in the stock market in 1910. He bought a place called "Phoenix Lodge," not far from Hempstead Plains, Long Island, where he dwelt for a while with his wife and his daughter, Jacqueline, who was born in 1905. His life there was troublesome to his neighbors as well as to his family; he was much away from home, always making a mystery of his travels and affairs, and his weirdly fantastic adventures which were occasionally the cause of international diplomatic exchanges. On the evening of January 11, 1919, he returned to his home and attempted to enter. He was met at the door by his wife and daughter and an altercation took place. After he had tried to choke his wife and seize the child, his wife shot him five times, killing him. She was tried by the Grand

Jury and freed, her action being adjudged justifiable homicide, the verdict being "No indictment." Madame Lebaudy applied for and was granted letters of administration of his estate, which at that time was said to consist of but \$30,000 of realty and of about \$200,000 of personal property. After disposing of his American property, Madame Lebaudy and her daughter returned to France.

Search has failed to reveal the details of the *Order of the Sahara*, but the decoration is said to have consisted of a five-pointed white-enamelled star, edged with gold, with four similar stars in the upper angles, encircled with a green-enamelled laurel wreath and surmounted by a royal crown with crescent above. The ribbon is dark green edged with a red band for the Commander and with an orange band for the lower grades. Much research has failed to attribute this decoration to any other order, and it is shown here with a question of doubt as to its proper classification.

SÉDANG

Between Siam and Annam in Southern French Indo-China is a section of country, occupied by a tribe of the Mois called the Sedangs, with a population of about a quarter of a million people, industrious and much given to agriculture.¹ This remote section was chosen by an adventurer for his kingdom.²

Charles-Louis-Marie-David de Mayrena (and self-styled, Comte de Ray) was born January 31, 1841, at Toulon, of a sea-faring family and educated for the navy. He joined the Spahis of Cochin-China in 1862 and took part in their expeditions until 1868. He later served in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871, was awarded the Legion of Honour for his valorous actions, and in 1887 returned to Cochin-China. In 1888, M. Constans, the Governor-General of that colony sent him into the interior to aid the natives in ridding the country of some troublesome Germans. Reaching Sédang (or Cédang) in his travels, he stayed some time assisting the chief of the Mois in the management of their affairs. To reward him for his labours in their behalf, the natives gave him the title of

¹ Sédang was between Siam and Annam in latitude about 15 north, approximately 100 kilometers west of Binh-dinh, on the coast, and bounded on the north by the Hollangs, on the east and northeast by the Banhars and the Banomes, on the west by the Mekong River and on the south by the Jarrais. Their capital was Pelei-Agua, at the junction of the PeKau and the Bla River.

² Trost, a German writer, erroneously states that this venture was in North Borneo, but that village is spelled Sedong.

Seigneur. In June, 1888, he had himself crowned as *King of Sédang* (with the title of Marie I.) at Pelei-Agua, though he later selected Kon-Jeri as his capital. He also embraced the Mohammedan faith of his subjects. He adopted a flag, a blue field bearing a white cross, in the centre of which was a red star. To interest others in his venture he instituted orders and decorations of honour. In 1889, Marie I went to Hong-Kong where he lavishly bestowed his Order of Marie I on many persons of importance who were much embarrassed diplomatically. The French authorities repudiated him and his kingdom, especially when they intercepted a cablegram he sent to the Kaiser appealing for protection and offering in return the allegiance of himself and his Sédang subjects to Germany. Leaving Hong-Kong on a German mail steamer he went to Ostend, where he is said to have been imprisoned for debt. Here he had printed by Jules Daveluy, "*Le Royaume Sédang, Bulletin des Lois, Decrets and Ordonnances 1888-1889.*" He later visited London in an endeavor to secure British recognition of his kingdom, but without result. During his sojourn in Belgium he managed to interest some people of that country in his venture and started eastward again with a few adherents. Arriving at Singapore, his plans were frustrated by the British officials who did not relish trouble with the French Indo-China authorities. Marie, *roi de Sédang* then went alone to the island of Tioman (or Tiuman) in the China sea, east of Pahang in the Malay Peninsula and a British



SEDANG
Royal Order of Sedang
Plaque



SEDANG
Order of Merit
Chevalier

protectorate. Here he lived alone fearing both the French and British, as he understood an order for his execution had been issued. He died in 1890. He lies buried in this remote Malayan village, his grave unmarked and his kingdom forgotten. His Belgian followers, left alone in Singapore, were forced to return to their native land, sadder, poorer and wiser men, as he had left no funds for them.

THE ROYAL ORDER OF SEDANG was founded at Kon-Jeri June 30, 1888, as a reward for services rendered, with five classes similar to the Legion of Honour. The decoration is a white-enamelled four-armed cross ancree, surmounted by a royal crown. On the obverse medallion of white enamel is the arms of the kingdom (a rampant lion facing left on a blue shield, with an earl's crown above, and, below, a ribbon bearing the motto *Jamais Ceder*; the ermine mantling is surmounted by a royal crown), encircled by a brown enamelled band inscribed in gold letters *MARIA* (sic) *REX SEDANORUM* and two laurel branches below. The reverse medallion has a gold *M* crowned, encircled by a band inscribed *ROYAL SEDANG*. The plaque of the order is of silver rays on which is superimposed a ball-tipped Maltese cross enamelled brown with its medallion like the obverse of the cross. The ribbon is orange-yellow edged with silver for chevaliers and with gold for other grades.

ORDER OF MERIT founded at Kon-Jeri August 5, 1888, of five classes, according to the decree "Pour récompenser les lettres, les arts, les

sciences, l'industrie et le dévouement à la maison royale." The decoration is a ball-tipped white-enamelled Maltese cross surmounted by a royal crown, having on the obverse blue medallion a gold *M* crowned, encircled by a white band inscribed in gold *MARIE I^{ER} ROI DE SEDANG*, and on the blue reverse medallion *MERITE SEDANG* encircled by a white band inscribed *GUNG DEH SEDANG * 1888 **. The ribbon is garnet red with a vertical white band each side. The plaque is a white-enamelled cross superimposed on silver rays with a blue medallion bearing a gold *M* crowned and *MERITE SEDANG* on a white encircling band.

The chevalier's cross is of dark red enamel and uncrowned, having on the obverse blue medallion a gold *M* crowned, encircled by a white band inscribed in gold *GUNG DEH SEDANG 1888*. On the reverse medallion of blue is *MERITE SEDANG* with the encircling motto of *MARIE IER ROI DE SEDANG **; the ribbon is rose edged with white.

ORDER OF SAINT MARGARET. This was instituted at Kon-Jeri August 5, 1888, with four classes, as a reward for military merit. The decoration is a ball-tipped five-armed double-pointed cross, surmounted by a royal crown, bearing on the blue obverse medallion an image of the saint encircled by a band inscribed *MARGARITA VIRGO*, and on the reverse medallion is *IN PUGNA RAPITUR*. The ribbon is blue moiré edged with silver for chevaliers and with gold for the other grades.

Philatelists may be interested to know that there were four varieties of postage stamps issued.



SEDANG
Royal Order of Sedang



SEDANG
Order of Merit

ORDER OF SAINT LEON

The Princely Order of the Chevaliers of Saint Leon was founded November 18, 1898, by one who styled himself Dom Leon Prince Laforge de Vitaval. According to the statutes, the objects were meritorious; to honor the noblest and the most worthy, as well as those proficient in the Arts, Sciences and Letters. This would-be Prince was Sovereign Grand Master of the Order and the Secretary General was Henry Romain, styling himself, Louis, Marquis de Guiry.

Louis Leon Laforg was born about 1873 or 1874 at Honfleur, Department of Calvados, at the mouth of the Seine. At the age of twenty-eight he possessed a yacht named the *Sphynx*, the commander of which was Count Revol de Grigny, who when ashore lived in a sparsely furnished room and did his own cooking, but when on the yacht dressed most elaborately. Laforg frequently attracted the attention of the police and was before the Courts of Havre, of Asnieres in 1900, and of Paris in 1901. He claimed to be a Roman Prince, which title he said was conferred by Pope Leo XIII who had awarded him the Cross of St. Gregory the Great on November 15, 1898. According to *Le Journal*, Paris, May 4, 1901, LaForg appears to have paid 22,150 francs for his title. He also claimed that King Humbert conferred on him the Order of the Crown of Italy for his literary work.

At the court trial in Paris, on May 2, 1901, it was testified that he made a charge of from 20 to 80

francs for the ribbon of the Order of St. Leon, and demanded one thousand francs for the decoration and diploma. At the conclusion of this trial, Laforg was sentenced to six months imprisonment for defrauding and for illegally wearing decorations. Thus ended the Princely Order of Saint Leon.

The elaborate certificate of award was designed and engraved by J. Van Driesten of Paris, who, according to a letter in the writer's possession, received but little in payment, save a decoration and title of Officer of the Order.

It is to be regretted that no description or illustration of the insignia could be obtained.

THE CROSS OF TRINIDAD

About seven hundred miles east of Brazil, in latitude 20° south and longitude 29° west, is a small volcanic pinnacle, the island of Trinidad, about four miles long by two miles wide, inhabited by seabirds and turtles. It was visited by Edmund Halley in 1700, by Amaro Delano in 1803 and by Richard Owen in 1882, and although known to the early Portuguese and English navigators, no one seems to have bothered about settling it or claiming possession of this veritable bit of no-man's land.¹ The latest maps mark it as belonging to Brazil.

About 1888, one Harden Hickey, self-styled a "Baron," who had been publishing a little-known journal in Paris, the *Triboulet*, suddenly abandoned the boulevards and started on a tour of the world in an English sailing ship, the "Astoria." During the voyage the schooner stopped at the island of Trinidad, and Hickey resolved to colonize it. After five years of deliberation, in September 1893, he formally took possession of this rocky bit of land and declared himself its sovereign Prince, under the title of James I.

About 1894 he issued a four-paged printed circular, which for brazen effrontery is unique. He starts by saying that three years before he had married the only daughter of Mr. John H. Flagler, a well-known American millionaire. This was no doubt intended to impress the readers with his

¹ Not to be confused with the island of the same name off the coast of Venezuela.

wealth and importance. The circular further states that the government was to be a military dictatorship. The officers were to wear a moustache and imperial like the Zouaves of the Second Empire. The flag authorized was a yellow triangle on a red field, and the arms of the principality were a shield "*d'or chapé de gueules*," and an order of chivalry, THE CROSS OF TRINIDAD, was created. The State was to have a monopoly of the guano, the turtles and the pirates' treasure, which legend said had been buried there. The colonists were to be free to possess the "*vegetation luxuriante de fougères, d'acacias et de Haricots sauvages, propres à la nourriture de l'homme*." Only white colonists could become partners in this venture, provided they had good social position at home and purchased a sufficient number of shares in government stock. This circular was signed by "Le Grand Chancelier Secrétaire d'État pour les Affaires Étrangères" M. Le Comte de la Boissière, 217 West 36th Street, New York, États-Unis, another ex-Parisian journalist, by the way. The telegraphic address was "Cerchra, Newyork."

Possibly the "baron's" only source of income for the government was from the sale of an immense number of postage stamps sold to American and European dealers. Brazil seems still to own the island; the guano and the buried treasure if ever there, still remain and the turtles are probably undisturbed by the colonists with their moustaches and imperials.

THE CROSS OF TRINIDAD was founded in 1893 by James I., the so-called Prince of Trinidad, "pour recompenser les lettres, les arts, les sciences, l'industrie, les vertus humanitaires et le devouement a sa maison." Such a phrase was in practically all the statutes of these unofficial or pseudo orders. Devotion to the house or kingdom doubtless meant contribution to their support or welfare. The insignia was a red-enamelled Greek cross edged with gold, having in the center a gold princely crown on a blue field encircled by a gold band. On the reverse medallion of blue was an Old English T. (T) The cross was surmounted by a gold princely crown with ring attached for the ribbon which was half red and half yellow. No specimen of this decoration has been seen. The above description is obtained from a printed circular in the Mss. Daguin, in possession of the American Numismatic Society.

THE HIGH COURT OF DECORATED PERSONS

Not content with having received or purchased decorations, some of which were unofficial or family orders, one, Dominique Margiotta, founded September 1, 1880, a Society called the ARÉOPAGE DES DÉCORÉS of all nations. The central office was at 246 Cours Garibaldi, in Palmi, Calabria, Italy—surely a most inconvenient place for a society with a world-wide clientele. A circular letter was issued to possible members inviting them to enroll. This was very flowery in its phraseology. The addressee

was advised that he had been proposed as an *Officier d'Honneur* of the institution, *provided* he adhered to the Statutes of the High Court. These were cleverly worded. The first required an entrance fee of 20 francs, and the second necessitated the payment of another twenty francs, to receive the *Silver Star of Virtue*—surely a modest sum, and as exchange was normal at that time, this meant the payment of about eight dollars. No doubt it brought some financial relief to “Le Sauveteur Dominique Margiotta,” the Founder and President of the Council of this high-sounding organization. Another requirement was that all monies *must* be sent to the President personally.

One can read between the lines and readily imagine why the Society never became known throughout the world.

An elaborate seal as well as a motto was adopted, *VIRTUS. FAMA IN POSTEROS*. The silver *Étoile des Vertueux* was a perfectly plain six-pointed star, bearing on the centre the word *VIRTUS*. How it was to be worn, or if with a ribbon, is not mentioned in the statutes of the organization. In this same letter a list of the Protectors and High-Protectors of *L'Aréopage des Décorés* was given. Heading the list appears the name of “Her Royal Highness, the Princess Marie of Lusignan”; followed by Antonio Guzman Blanco, the Dictator of Venezuela; the President of Liberia; three of his European ministers and others equally important in the diplomatic world. Among the other items of infor-

mation intended to impress the desired member are the honours of the President. The first announces he is a Chevalier of Honour of the Royal House of Lusignan etc. etc. Seventeen other high-sounding titles follow. It will readily be seen that this society was formed to fleece in a smaller way those victims of other chimeric orders heretofore described. Nor is it any wonder that the Décorés are not proud to wear these insignia, and that the collector may now and then secure them in the small antique shops.

The foregoing description of ephemeral decorations by no means covers all of those which were established by would-be princes, kings or emperors. The order of St. John of Greytown, Nicaragua, created by the American filibuster, William Walker, when he attempted to capture that country, is not included, for the reason that the territory of Nicaragua was recognized as independent at the time and Walker was merely attempting to gain its control. It should be treated under the medals and decorations of that country.

Many other similar decorations were created, and for these the reader is referred to J. H. Lawrence-Archer's *The Orders of Chivalry* London, 1887, where a number are mentioned which apparently belong in this class. As no detailed description is given, they are omitted here. Perhaps some numismatic student will later be able to supply information regarding other of these transitory medals and decorations.

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NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 67



A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BYZANTINE COIN HOARDS

BY
SAWYER McA. MOSSER

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A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BYZANTINE COIN HOARDS

BY SAWYER MCA. MOSSER

PREFACE

The study of coin hoards, after years of comparative neglect, has recently been given increased attention by both numismatists and archaeologists. While Byzantine hoards have shared some part of this interest, attention shown them has not been proportionate to that shown in Greek and Roman hoards. In providing a tool whereby study of Byzantine coins may be facilitated, it is hoped that this compilation of references to coin hoards will serve to stimulate this interest.

While in its title this monograph is called a bibliography, it is more than a bibliography. Not only are references given to literature concerning hoards, but the contents, number of coins, probable date of burial, and the disposition of the coins are also noted. This information is frequently incomplete, since very few hoards have been published with any degree of fullness. Except for some of those for which the proportion of Byzantine coins is small, only 28 of the 355 entries herein listed have been hoards published with full description of their contents; Akeback, Alexandria, Arta, Athens 1876-77, Chinon, Corinth (1), Cotrone, Cyprus 1858, Ephesus, 1917?, Escharen, Etelhem, Hon, Kalipetrovo, Khirbat Dubel, Lacco,

Ameno, Mengen, Monte Roduni, Mt. Castro, Motta San Giovanni, Munningen, Ossi, Porto Torres, Reggio, Reno, Sardis, Sessa Aurunca, Unknown locality 1917, Unknown locality 1924, Unknown locality, Asia Minor? (4). Two factors of recent development should encourage more complete publication of future hoards, the need for which is quite evident. The lately displayed appreciation of the historical and economic importance of numismatic data from this period will probably result in a more careful study of such hoards. Likewise, the development of successful chemical and electrolytic methods of cleaning bronze issues of little value should, by counteracting their previous underestimation, bring about more accurate cataloging of Byzantine coins.

In addition to hoards concerning which information has already been published, the bibliography has widened its scope by the inclusion of certain unpublished hoards, forty-eight in all. Information concerning these latter has been received from those who have had access either to the hoards themselves, or to reliable data concerning them. Outstanding among these, in both number and importance, are the hoards examined and recorded at the Constantinople Museum during the past decade by Dr. Kurt Regling. Without Dr. Regling's kind permission to include his copious notes, the bibliography would have been weakest at the very point most desirable for it to be strong. In the entry of each of these unpublished hoards, acknowledgment has been made to the person from whom the information was obtained.

The object has been to list hoards only, disregard-

ing entirely sporadic finds. Because of the scanty detail in their reports it has not always been possible to establish whether many of the finds were true hoards. Rather than make omissions, any find which from the evidence appears to have been a hoard has been included. An exception has been made in the case of the coins found in the excavations at Corinth, Pergamum, Priene and Saqqara, which have been included to show how Byzantine coins occur in representative excavations for which there has been complete publication of their coins. It is encouraging to note that present day excavators are giving Byzantine coins the complete treatment in their reports which they deserve.

Warwick Wroth's *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum* has been followed in considering the coins of Anastasius as the earlier limit of Byzantine numismatics. Had those of Arcadius been used for the earlier limit, the bibliography would have bulked large with hoards mostly of late Roman coins and would thus have been less purely Byzantine. Consequently, only those hoards have been included which contain one or more coins of the emperors beginning with Anastasius; of the rulers covered in Wroth's *Catalogue of the Vandals, Ostrogoths and Lombards*; or of barbaric imitations.

The arrangement of material is the same as that used in Sydney P. Noe's *Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards* (Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 25). Each hoard is listed alphabetically under the name of the place where it was reported to have been found. The form of PLACE-NAME followed is that used in

the note or article from which the data were obtained. This may at times give rise to some confusion; e.g., in the case of a German transliteration of a Russian place-name for the English reader and vice versa for the German reader. Following the place-name, the date of the find has been given whenever possible.

As so few Byzantine hoards have been studied and published thoroughly, the probable date of BURIAL has not often been assigned. When the date has been assigned in the publication of a hoard, it has been noted. No attempt, however, has been made to assign dates where they are lacking. When lacking, a blank space has been left for the convenience of the student wishing to supply it. Opposite the burial date is given the number of coins found and the metal.

The CONTENTS of the hoard are listed chronologically according to the emperors represented therein. Because burial dates are furnished for so few hoards, the dates of the earliest and latest emperors in the list are supplied in parentheses. Wroth's *Catalogue* has been followed in supplying these dates as well as in determining other details in the listing; e.g., the numbering of the Constantines which varies from that of Sabatier and other writers. Non-Byzantine coins are generally grouped under the names of the districts of their origin. The method of this general grouping has not always been consistent. In most cases the designation for the grouping has been that used in the literature consulted. For example, both the loose and indefinite classifications "Cufic" and "Arabic" will be found in the listings, although

they have been combined in the geographical index under ARABIC.

Under DISPOSITION the collection in which the coins were deposited is noted.

The bibliography on the hoard follows next. In the listing of references, it has been thought better to be inclusive of all rather than omit one which might be of unforeseen usefulness. Under the same hoard there may be several references containing identical data. All have been listed to cover the possibility that some one may be unavailable to the student using the bibliography. In a few cases references have been included which up to the time of publication were not available for checking. For each of these, however, at least one other reference has been checked. Abbreviation has been used sparingly to facilitate the finding of references. The extent of the reference and the presence of illustrations, whether in text or on plates, has been indicated.

Two INDEXES have been supplied to facilitate use of the material. The first is of the emperors represented in the finds. Under the name of each emperor will be found the place-names of the hoards containing his coins. In addition to the entries by emperors' names there will be found several general groupings; e.g., BYZANTINE (General), ANONYMOUS, ARABIC, BARBARIC IMITATIONS, VANDALIC, etc., under which are listed the place-names of those hoards for which some items of the contents have not been given in greater detail. The second index is of hoards according to their geographical location. Under the name of each country the hoards found within its limits are listed according to place-name and date of discovery.

At the end of the book there is a brief list of literature containing data on sporadic finds. No claim for completeness is made for this list; its sole purpose is to be suggestive.

A great portion of the results in this work have been accomplished only through the assistance of others, either in helping to locate elusive references or in supplying material hitherto unpublished. To all thus assisting gratitude is cordially expressed. Of these Dr. N. A. Mouchmoff was especially helpful in supplying a French translation of material published in the Bulgarian language. From Dr. Kurt Regling, Dr. Katherine M. Edwards, Prof. David M. Robinson, Mr. J. G. Milne, Mr. Th. Lotonri, Mr. K. Konstantopoulos, Mr. Th. Gerassimov and Mr. E. T. Newell, data have been received on unpublished hoards, the inclusion of which greatly enhances the value of the bibliography. Above all appreciation must be expressed to the Secretary of the American Numismatic Society, Mr. Sydney P. Noe, for constant advice and guidance and for his fruitful correspondence in behalf of the bibliography.

SAWYER MCA. MOSSER.

ABBREVIATIONS

c.	Circa.	sol.	Solidus.
kilo.	Kilogram.	trem.	Tremissis.
sem.	Semissis.	w.	With.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BYZANTINE COIN HOARDS

Adana, Cilicia, Asia Minor.

Burial— 6 *AV*

John II Comnenus, 1118–1143 (Wroth LXVII, 1, 2; LXVIII, 1) 5 sol., (Wroth LXVIII, 2), 1 sol.

Disposition: Constantinople.

Note by Dr. Kurt Regling.

Aglen, Bulgaria, 1912.

Burial— c.1 kilo. *Æ*

Michael VIII Palaeologus (1261–1282); Andronicus II Palaeologus (1282–1328).

Disposition:

Filow, B. Bull. soc. arch. bulgare, III, 1912–13, p. 333.
(Bulgarian text.)

Akalan, Bulgaria, 1913.

Burial— 613–641 A.D. 420 *AV* 2 *Æ*

Maurice Tiberius (582–602), 3; Remainder of Phocas I and Heraclius I (610–641).

Disposition:

Filow, B. Bull. soc. arch. bulg., III, 1912–13, p. 324.

Filow, B. Arch. Anz., 1914, col. 417–418.

A. J. A., XIX, 1915, p. 83.

Akebäck, Gotland, Sweden, 1929.

Burial— 22 *AV*

Solidi of: Honorius (395–423), 2; Placidius Valentinian, 3; Marcianus, 2; Zeno, 1; Anastasius, 7; Justinian (527–565), 6; Merovingian of Theodobert (511–534), 1; and 15 gold fragments.

2 BYZANTINE COIN HOARDS

Disposition: Historical Museum, Stockholm.

Arné, T. J. Deux nouvelles découvertes de solidi en Gotland. *Acta Archaeologica*, II, 1931, p. 1–28, illus.

Bolin, S. *Germania*, XV, 1931, p. 268–276.

Årsbok. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikskademiens, 1930–32, p. XCVI.

Akhaltzykh, Transcaucasia, 1906.

Burial— +5 *AV*

A number of solidi, 5 of which were of Constantine VII, 913–959 (DeSaulcy, pl. XXIII, 7).

Disposition:

Pachomov, E. A. *Travaux de la Soc. Scient. d'Azerbaidjan*, Livr. 3, Baku, 1926. p. 49, no. 93.

Alaya, Cilicia, Asia Minor.

Burial— 49 *AV*

Zeno (474–491), 36 sol., 3 trem.; Anastasius I (491–518), 10 sol. All in mint state.

Disposition: Constantinople.

Note by Dr. Kurt Regling.

Alexanderhof, Brandenburg, Germany, 1901.

Burial— 1490 grm. *Æ*

Constantine VII w. Romanus II (945–959), 1 broken; Nicephorus II, 1; John I Zimisces (969–976), 1 broken; Arabic (908–976), Italian, English, and German.

Disposition: Prenzlau Museum.

Bahrfeldt, E. and Mieck, A. *Der hacksilber Fund von Alexanderhof*. Prenzlau, 1902.

Bahrfeldt, E. *Der hacksilber Fund von Alexanderhof*. *Berliner Münzblätter*, 1903, p. 211–214, 235–237, 270–271, etc.

Alexandria, (Chatby), Egypt, 1903.

Burial— 191 *AV* 1 *Æ*

Constantius II (323–361), 1 sol.; Valentinian, 3 sol.; Valens, 3 sol.; Gratian, 1 sol.; Justin I, 3 sem., 9 trem.; Justinian I, 4 sol., 3 sem.; Justin II, 9 sol.; Tiberius II Constantine, 2 sol., 2 sem., 32 trem.; Maurice Tiberius, 43 sol., 5 sem., 2 trem.; Phocas, 21 sol., 13 sem., 24 trem.; Heraclius (610–641), 13 sol., 1 sem., 4 trem.; Heraclius (631) Cons., 3 sol., 1 sem., 4 trem.; Heraclius with Heraclius Constantine, 1 sol.; Heraclius w. Heraclonas, 1 sol.; indecipherable, 1 sol.; Unidentified Æ piece, 1.

Disposition: Alexandria Museum.

Dutilh, E. D. J. Une trouvaille de 191 monnaies d'or byzantins et d'une pièce en argent. *Rev. Belge*, 1905, p. 155–164, illus.

Alexandropol, Transcaucasia, 1878?

Burial—

27 *AV*

Byzantine coins of 11th cent. found in a ditch.

Disposition:

Stroganoff, S. *Rapports commiss. imp. arch.* (St. Petersburg), 1878–79, p. xl.

Alise-Saint-Reine, Cote D'Or, France, 1804.

Burial—

c.300 *AV*?

Solidi and tremissi of Leo (457–474); Zeno; Anastasius; Justin; Justinian (527–565); Theodebert (King of Austrasia, 534–548)

Disposition:

Testart, Gaston. *Les anciennes fouilles du Mont-Auxois. Pro Alesia*, 1907–08, p. 260–268, pl. XXXVI & p. 293.

Revue numismatique, 1908, p. 291. (Bibliog. note concerning above ref.)

Alishar, Anatolia, Asia Minor, 1930.

Burial— c.527 A.D.

3 *Æ*

4 BYZANTINE COIN HOARDS

Folles of Justin I, 518–527 (Wroth, pl. III, 5), 2;
(Wroth, pl. IV, 1), 1.

Disposition:

Newell, E. T. (In Alishar Huyuk. Seasons of 1930–32.
Oriental Institute Publication.)

Allmänninge, Gestrikland, Sweden, 1836.

Burial— 13 \mathfrak{R}

Basil II w. Constantine VIII (976–1025), 1; Anglo-Saxon, 3; Anglo-Norman, 2; Swedish, 1; German, 1; Cufic, 5. Found with various objects of jewelry.

Disposition: Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm,
acq. portion.

Hildebrand, B. E. Anglosachsiska mynt i svenska Kgl.
Myntkabinett. Stockholm, 1846. p. xxxii.

Almindingen, Bornholm, Denmark.

Burial— 6 \mathfrak{A}

Solidi of Theodosius II (408–450), 2; Valentinian III, 1; Anastasius I (491–518), 2; barbaric imitation, 1.

Disposition:

Aarboeger foer Nordisk Oldkyndighed og historie, 1894,
p. 354, No. 167.

Bolin, S. Fynden av romerska mynt i det fria Germanien, Bilagor I, p. 145. Lund, 1926.

Althöfchen, (Posen), Poland, 1872.

Burial— c.1012. +1026 \mathfrak{R}

Western European, +1000; Nicephorus II Phocas (963–969), 1; Basil II w. Constantine VIII (976–1025), 3; Cufic, 22.

Disposition:

Grote, H. Münzstudien, VIII, 1877, p. 267.

Zeit. f. Num., XV, 1887, p. 173.

Dannenburg, H. Die deutschen Münzen der säch-

sischen und frankischen Kaiserzeit. Berlin, 1876–1905. p. 49.

Vasmer, R. R. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, Del 40: 2, Stockholm, 1929. p. 42–43.

Markow, A. K. Topografija kladow wostocnych monet. St. Petersburg, 1910. p. 117, no. 7.

Amorgos, 1909.

Burial— 91 Æ

Manuel I Comnenus (1143–1180), 41; Isaac II Angelus, 24; Alexius III Angelus, 21; Theodorus Comnenus, Despot of Epirus (1214–1230), 1; Uncertain, 2; Barbaric, 2.

Disposition: National Museum, Athens.

Jour. Int. d'Arch. Num., XIII, 1911, p. 71–72.

Anchialus, Bulgaria, 1912.

Burial— 1 A 6 Æ

Justinian (527–565), 1 trem.; Anastasius II (713–716), 1 Æ; others of 5th to 6th cent., 4 Æ; Roman (Antoninus and Crispa), 2 Æ.

Disposition:

Filow, B. Bull. soc. arch. bulgare, III, 1912–13, p. 336.

Seure, G. Monnaies antiques en Bulgarie. Rev. Num., 1923, p. 19.

Ani, Kars, Transcaucasia.

Burial— 608 Æ

Anonymous Byzantine with four-line inscriptions.

Disposition: Museum of Ani.

Pachomov, E. A. Travaux Soc. Scient. d'Azerbaidjan, Livr. 3, Baku, 1926. p. 50, no. 106.

Antinoe, Egypt, 1914. (1)

Burial— 110 Æ

Justinian I, 527–565 (Wroth, nos. 342–6), 31;

6 BYZANTINE COIN HOARDS

(Wroth, 247–8), 1; Justin I (Wroth, 241–6), 12; Tiberius II (Wroth, 132–5), 4; (Wroth, 136–41), 6; (Wroth, 142–5), 4; Maurice Tiberius (Wroth, 220–7), 19; Phocas? (Wroth, 123–34), 11; Heraclius I, 610–641 A.D. (Wroth, 289–96), 8; Indeterminate of IB types, 13; pierced coin of Constantius II. Pot hoard.

Disposition: Ashmolean and Manchester Museums acq. portions.

Note supplied by J. G. Milne.

Antinoe, Egypt, 1914. (2)

Burial— 13 Æ

Justin II, 565–578 (Wroth, nos. 241–2), 1; Maurice Tiberius? (Wroth, 223?), 1; Heraclius I (610–641) (Wroth, 288), 3; barbarous (Wroth, Phocas, nos. 123–34), 4; Illegible, 3; Arabic (Omayyad), 1. (Found together during excavations)

Disposition:

Note by J. G. Milne.

Arkesine, Amorgos, c.1900.

Burial— 60 Æ

Constantine IV Pogonatus, Heraclius w. Tiberius (668–680?), 52 sol.; Constantine IV Pogonatus (669–685), 8 sem.

Disposition:

Svoronos, J. N. *Jour. Int. d'Arch. Num.*, IV, 1901, p. 90–92.

Bull. Int. Num. I, 1902, p. 10.

Arta, Epirus, Greece.

Burial— 1259–60 A.D. 74 Æ

Michael II (or I) of Epirus (1237–1271), 6; Manuel Angelus of Thessalonica (or Epirus), 1; Manuel

Angelus or Theodore Angelus of Thessalonica (or Epirus), 1; Manuel (or Theodore) Angelus of Thessalonica, 1; John Angelus of Thessalonica, 4; Michael II of Epirus, 16; Michael II w. Nicephorus of Epirus, 1; John I Vatatzes of Thessalonica, 10; John Vatatzes? of Nicaea, 2; Theodore Angelus of Thessalonica, 8; Michael VIII Palaeologus of Nicaea or Constantinople (1259–1282), 3; Manuel Angelus? of Thessalonica, 2; Theodore II of Nicaea, 1; John I Vatatzes of Thessalonica, 6; Michael VIII Palaeologus (1259–1260–1) of Thessalonica, 7.

Disposition: British Museum.

Mattingly, H. Num. Chron., 1923, p. 31–46, pl. III.

Athens, Greece, 1876–1877.

Burial—

234 *AV*

Phocas (602–610) 1 trem.; Heraclius I w. Heraclius Constantine, 37 sol.; Heraclius Constantine, 4 sem., 15 trem.; Constans II, 3 sol.; Constans II w. Constantine Pogonatus, 38 sol.; Constans II, Constantine Pogonatus, Heraclius, and Tiberius, 99 sol.; Constans II (641–668) 16 sem., 21 trem. Three finds during excavation of sanctuary of Asclepius.

Disposition: National Museum, Athens.

Svoronos, J. N. Jour. Int. d'Arch. Num., VII, 1904, p. 143–160, pl. VI–VII.

Athens (Dipylon), Greece, 1908.

Burial—

598 *Æ*

Justinian I (527–565), 41; Justin II w. Sophia (565–578), 85; Badly worn small pieces of late Roman and early Byzantine emperors (especially Justinian I), 472.

Disposition: National Museum, Athens.

Jour. Int. d'Arch. Num., XII, 1909–10, p. 6–9.

8 BYZANTINE COIN HOARDS

Athens, Greece, 1928.

Burial— 10 *AV*

Solidi of John II Comnenus (1118–1143).

Disposition: National Museum, Athens.

Information of K. Konstantopoulos.

Aydin Vilayet (Turkey), Asia Minor.

Burial— 59 *AV*

Anastasius I (491–518), 1 trem.; Phocas (Wroth, XX, 4, 5; ϵ), 1 sol.; Heraclius I (Wroth XXIII, 2, 3; ϵ), 5 sol.; Heraclius w. Heraclius Constantine, 613–641 (Wroth XXIII, 6–8; B, Δ , ϵ , S, Z, H, Θ , I, III, I Θ and uncertain), 52 sol.

Disposition: Constantinople.

Note by Dr. Kurt Regling.

Aytoska Banja, Bulgaria, 1911.

Burial— 2914

48 Byzantine: Theodosius II (408–450) 4; Marcianus, 1; Justin I, 1; Justinian, 1; Uncertain of 5th–6th cent., 30; John Zimisces, 1; Remainder Greek and Roman. Not a hoard. Cf. Noe: Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards. New York, 1925. p. 33.

Disposition: National Museum, Sofia, acq. many.

Arch. Anz., 1911, col. 348–356.

Seure, G. Rev. Num., 1923, p. 19.

Bull. soc. arch. bulgare II, 1911, p. 283–4.

Bagarentzi, Bulgaria, 1926.

Burial— c.2 kilo. *Æ*

Isaac II Angelus (1185–1195).

Disposition:

Mouchmov, N. A. Bull. inst. arch. bulgare, IV, 1926–27, p. 323. (Bulgarian text.)

Balabur, Lencaran, Baku, Transcaucasia, 1909?

Burial—

AV Æ

Alexius I Comnenus (1081–1118); Remainder unknown.

Disposition:

Pachomov, E. A. *Travaux Soc. Scient. d'Azerbaidjan*, Livr. 3, Baku, 1926. p. 49, no. 99.

Bania, Bulgaria, 1926.

Burial—

40 AV 600 grm. Æ

Solidi of Manuel I Comnenus (1143–1180); Andronicus I Comnenus; Isaac II Angelus (1185–1195); 600 grms. Æ of same period.

Disposition: Carlovo Museum.

Mouchmov, N. A. *Bull. inst. arch. bulgare*, IV, 1926–27, p. 325. (Bulgarian text.)

Batcun, Bulgaria, 1922?

Burial—

+10 Æ

Manuel I Comnenus (1143–1180); Alexius I Comnenus; Andronicus I Comnenus (1184–1185).

Disposition: Sofia acq. 10.

Mouchmov, N. A. *Bull. inst. arch. bulgare*, I, 1921–22, p. 243. (Bulgarian text.)

Batum, Georgia, Transcaucasia.

Burial—

4 AV

Justinian I, 4 sol.

Disposition:

Arne, T. J. *Acta archaeologica*, II, 1931, p. 19.

Vasmer, R. R. *Spisok monetnyh nakhodok*, II (Soobsenija aimk).

Bela-Cerkva, Bulgaria, 1934.

Burial—

116 AV 1 Æ

John II Comnenus (1118–1143), 22; Andronicus II

10 BYZANTINE COIN HOARDS

w. Michael IX (1295–1320), 94; Svetoslav (Bulgarian King, 1295–1322), 1AR.

Disposition:

Note by Th. Gerassimov.

Benevento, Italy.

Burial— 72 *AV*

Zeno (474–491), 1 sol.; Anastasius, 12 sol.; Justin I, 2 sol., 2 trem.; Justinian I (527–565), 7 sol., 47 trem.; Unidentified, 1.

Disposition:

Cesano, L. Ripostigli di monete di oro bizantine, medievali e moderne rinvenuti in Italia. *Atti e Mem. dell'Ist. Ital. Num.*, vol. 5, p. 160.

Not. Scav., 1889, p. 87–88.

Beth-Shan, Palestine, 1930.

Burial— 10 *AV*

Maurice Tiberius (582–602); Phocas; Heraclius I (610–641). Found with gold chain and bracelet and bronze censer.

Disposition:

Quart. Statement Palestine Explor. Fund, 1931, p. 68.

Bieloiarovka, Taganrog, Russia, 1913.

Burial— 50 *AV*

Solidi of Justinian (527–565).

Disposition:

Arne, T. J. *Acta Archaeologica*, Vol. II, 1931, p. 19.

Tolstoi, I. I. *Otchet Imp. Arch. Comm.*, 1913–1915, p. 204.

Biesenbrow, Brandenburg, Germany.

Burial— 200 *AV*

Of those examined 50 were of Arcadius, Theodosius, Leo, Zeno, Anastasius, Justin, and Justinian.

Disposition: Berlin acq. some. Rest dispersed.

Bolin, S. *Fynden av romerska mynt i det fria Germanien*. Bilagor I, p. 64. Lund, 1926.

Numismatische Zeitung, 1864, p. 44.

Zeit. f. Ethnologie, 1885, pp. 24, 275; 1872, p. 167.

Märkische Forschungen, VII, p. 107.

Biisk, Tomsk, Siberia.

Burial—

8

Byzantine.

Disposition:

Vasmer, R. *Transactions of the State Acad. for Hist. of Material Culture*, I, Leningrad, 1926, p. 293.

Bjärby, Gotland, Sweden.

Burial—

723 whole 96 broken \mathfrak{A}

Byzantine, 3; Western European, 706 whole, 61 broken; Cufic, 14 whole, 35 broken. Latest of 1002/3 A.D.

Disposition:

Vasmer, R. R. *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, Del 40: 2, Stockholm, 1929. p. 38–39.

Markow, A. K. *Topografija kladow wostocnych monet*. St. Petersburg, 1910. p. 79, no. 153.

Boli (Anc. Claudiopolis Bithyniae), Asia Minor.

Burial—

7 \mathfrak{A}

Romanus IV w. Eudocia, 1067–1071 (Wroth LXI, 11, 12), 6 sol.; Nicephorus III, 1078–1081 (Wroth LXIII, 6, 7), 1 sol.

Disposition: Constantinople.

Note by Dr. Kurt Regling.

Bornholm, Denmark.

Burial—

29 \mathfrak{A}

Placidia (395–423); Valentinian III; Glycerius;

12 BYZANTINE COIN HOARDS

Theodosius II; Martianus; Leo I; Zeno; Anastasius I (491–518).

Disposition:

Veltman, H. Funde von Rötermünzen im freien Germanien. Osnabruck, 1886. p. 103.

Regling, K. Der Dortmunder Fund römischer Goldmünzen. Dortmund, 1908. p. 13, note 10.

Borovskaja, Peterhof, Russia, 1846.

Burial— c.1040 A.D. c.4000 Æ

Arabic (838–1012), several hundred; John I Zimisces (969–976), 1; Basil II w. Constantine VIII (976–1025), 10; Anglo-Saxon of 10th—11th century, 700–800; German of 10th—11th century, 1500.

Disposition:

Baur, N. Zeit. f. Num., XXXIX, 1929, p. 78–79.

Bull. hist.-phil. Acad. imp. des Sciences, St. Petersburg, IV, 1846, p. 205–206, 352.

Mem. Soc. d'arch. et num. de St. Petersburg, I, 1847, p. 170–172; III, p. 366.

Vasmer, R. R. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, Del 40: 2, Stockholm, 1929. p. 42–43.

Markow, A. K. Topografija kladow wostocnych monet. St. Petersburg, 1910. p. 30, no. 175; p. 59, no. 10.

Botels I Hafdems, Gotland, Sweden.

Burial— c.2300 Æ

Cufic (715–766), 222 whole, 2046 broken; Romanus I, Constantine VII, Stephen and Constantine, 1; Constantine VII w. Romanus II, 8 whole, 6 broken; German Cologne, Mainz, Regensburg, Strassburg (936–1002), 28; Found with silver jewelry.

Disposition:

Tegner, E. and Hildebrand, H. Manadsblad, 1883, p. 97–122.

Pachomov, E. A. Travaux Soc. Scient. d'Azerbaidjan, Livr. 3. Baku, 1926. p. 85, no. 286.

Vasmer, R. R. *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, Del 40: 2, Stockholm, 1929, p. 36–37.

Boters, Gotland, Sweden, 1860.

Burial— 566 whole 321 broken Æ
Western European, 14; Constantine VII w. Romanus II and John I Zimisces, 9; Cufic, 543 whole, 321 broken. Latest coins of John I Zimisces (969–976).

Disposition: Historical Museum, Stockholm.

Tornberg, C. J. *Symbolae ad rem numarium muhamedanorum* (Nova acta R. Soc. Scient. Upsaliensis, ser. III, 1853–1862), IV, p. 8.

Vasmer, R. R. *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, Del 40: 2, Stockholm, 1929, p. 36–37.

Markow, A. K. *Topografija kladow wostocnych monet*. St. Petersburg, 1910. p. 77, no. 137.

Botevo, Bulgaria, 1904.

Burial— 738 Æ

Comneni emperors, 11th century.

Disposition:

Mouchmov, N. A. *Bull. soc. arch. bulgare*, IV, 1914, p. 272, note 36. (Bulgarian text.)

Bou-Arada, Algeria, Africa, 1903.

Burial— +12

Byzantine of 7th century.

Disposition: Musée Alaoui au Bardo, Tunis, acq. 12.

Bull. arch. du comité, 1925, p. lxxxiii, note 3.

Bresin, Grenzmark, Germany, 1795.

Burial— 150 Æ

Solidi of Marcianus, Zeno, Leo I, Theodosius II, Basiliscus and Anastasius (491–518). About nine-tenths of Anastasius.

14 BYZANTINE COIN HOARDS

Disposition:

Jahrb. Verein f. Mecklenburg. Gesch. u. Altertums-
kunde, Schwerin, XXXVIII, 1873, Q 4, p. 13.

Zeit. f. Ethnologie, 1872, p. 163.

Levesow, H. Berlin Akad. d. Wissensch., Hist.-Phil.
Klasse, 1833-34, p. 182.

Bolin, S. Fynden av romerska mynt i det fria Ger-
manien. Lund, 1926. Bilagor I, p. 102.

Broa, Gotland, Sweden, 1913.

Burial— 132 Æ

Arabic, 116; German, 14; Ang'o-Saxon, 1; Byzan-
tine, 1; found with gold bar and various silver
objects.

Disposition: Historical Museum, Stockholm.

Fornvännen, VIII, 1913. Statens Historiska Museum
och K. Myntkabinett, Tillväxten, p. 272-273.

Broby, Södermannland, Sweden, 1816-17.

Burial— (2 Finds) 431 Æ

Nicephorus II Phocas (963-969), 1 fragment; Anglo-
Saxon, 224; Irish, 7; Swedish, 2; German, 190;
Cufic, 1 whole, 6 broken.

Disposition: Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm.

Hildebrand, B. E. Anglosachsiska mynt i svenska Kgl.
Myntkabinett. Stockholm, 1846. p. xxxviii.

Brusa, Asia Minor.

Burial— 344 Æ

Manuel I, 1143-1180 (Wroth LXX, 4) 3, (Sabatier
LVI, 1; possibly Manuel of Thessalonica?), 2;
Isaac II (Wroth LXXII, 5, 6), 2. Alexius III
(Wroth LXXIII, 7-12), 33. Theodore I of Nicaea,
1204-1222 (Wroth, Vandals, XXVIII, 6-9) 40,
(Not in Wroth) 259. Uncertain, 5.

Disposition: Constantinople.

Note by Dr. Kurt Regling.

Brzovitza, Bulgaria, 1926.

Burial— 5 *AV*

Leo I (457–474), 1; Zeno, 3; Anastasius I (491–518),

1. Found in a lead box.

Disposition:

Mouchmov, N. A. Bull. inst. arch. bulgare, IV, 1926–27, p. 323. (Bulgarian text.)

Bucharest (Strada Armazulin), Rumania, 1920.

Burial— 9 *Æ* scyphate

Alexius I (1081–1118) and Manuel I Comnenus (1143–1180).

Disposition: Academia Romane.

Note by Const. Moisil.

Bucharest, Rumania, 1929.

Burial— 13 *Æ*

Justin II w. Sophia (565–578); Tiberius II Constantine (578–582).

Disposition: Academia Romana.

Note by Const. Moisil.

Cagliari, Sardinia, Italy.

Burial— 100 *Æ*

Coins in bad state of preservation. Possible to assign 2 to Claudius Gothicus and 2 to an anonymous Carthaginian Vandalicking (Sabat., Mon. Byz., p. 221, no. 7, pl. XX, no. 21).

Disposition:

Not. Scav., 1897, p. 439.

Campobello, Trapani, Italy.

Burial— *AV*

16 BYZANTINE COIN HOARDS

Honorius, Theodosius II (408–450); a number of Byzantine *Æ* from 2nd half of 7th to 8th cent.

Disposition:

Cesano, L. *Ripostigli di monete di oro bizantine, medievali e moderne rinvenuti in Italia. Atti e Mem. dell'Ist. Ital. Num.*, V, p. 161.

Not. Scav., 1878, p. 176.

Caparelli, Arcadia, Greece, 1927.

Burial— 150 *Æ*

121 of John II Comnenus (1118–1143); Manuel I Comnenus; Andronicus Comnenus; John Angelus (1232–1243); 29 worn pieces of the Comneni.

Disposition: National Museum, Athens.

Information of K. Konstantopoulos.

Carlovo, Bulgaria, 1899.

Burial— 6 *Æ*

Andronicus II Palaeologus (1282–1328).

Disposition:

Mouchmov, N. A. *Bull. soc. arch. bulgare*, IV, 1914, p. 272, note 22. (Bulgarian text.)

Cartal, Bulgaria, 1914.

Burial— 100 *Æ*

Comneni emperors, 11th cent.

Disposition:

Mouchmov, N. A. *Bull. soc. arch. bulgare*, IV, 1914, p. 274, note 69. (Bulgarian text.)

Carthage, Africa, c.1872.

Burial— 80 *Æ*

Byzantine solidi.

Disposition:

Delattre, R. P. *Memoires Soc. archeol. de Constantine*, XXXV, 1901, p. 181 ff.

Comptes-rendus Acad. inscr. et belles-lettres, 1902,
p. 548.

Carthage, Africa, c.1887.

Burial—

3418 Æ

Vandalic.

Disposition:

Cesano, L. Riv. Ital. Num., XXVI, 1913, p. 529.

Delattre, R. P. Memoires Soc. archeol. de Constantine,
XXXV, 1901, p. 181 ff.

Comptes-rendus Acad. inscr. et belles-lettres, 1902,
p. 548.

Wroth, W. B. M. Cat., Vandals etc., p. xix, note 3.

Carthage, Africa, 1898?

Burial—

AV

Small Byzantine gold pieces.

Disposition:

Delattre, R. P. Memoires Soc. archeol. de Constantine,
XXXV, 1901, p. 181 ff.

Comptes-rendus Acad. inscr. et belles-lettres, 1902,
p. 548.

Carthage, Africa, 1900.

Burial— c.692 A.D.

200? AV

Heraclius I (610–641); Constans II; Constantine
IV Pogonatus (668–685).

Disposition: Musée Alaoui au Bar do, Tunis, acq.
23.

Gauckler, M. Bull. arch. du comité, 1900, p. cxlvii–
cxlviii.

Bull. arch. du comité, 1925, p. lxxxiii, note 3.

Caseburg auf Usedom, Pommern, Germany, 1864.

Burial—

21 AV 2 Æ

Cufic (718–907), 2 Æ; Honorius (395–423), 1;
Theodosius II, 1; Leo I, 1; Anastasius I (491–518),
1. Scattered near the same spot 16 Byzantine AV
found in 1864.

Disposition:

Blätter für Münzfreunde, 1865, p. 7.

Bolin, S. Fynden av romerska mynt i det fria Germanien. Lund, 1926. Bilagor I, p. 94.

Cazitchane, Bulgaria, 1912?

Burial—

1 \mathfrak{R} 7 \mathfrak{A}

Theophilus (829–842), 1 \mathfrak{A} ; John I Zimisces (969–976), 1 \mathfrak{A} ; Urosh of Serbia (1242–1276), 1 \mathfrak{R} ; Worn Roman, 5 \mathfrak{A} ; 1 silver earring. Found in tomb.

Disposition: Sofia.

Filow, B. Bull. soc. arch. bulgare, III, 1912–13, p. 330–331. (Bulgarian text.)

Cerne-Nemteascia, see Nemet-Csernya.**Chatalja, Constantinople Vilayet, Turkey in Europe.**

Burial—

152 \mathfrak{A}

Tiberius II Constantine, 578–582 (Wroth XIII, 17; ϵ), 1 sol.; Maurice Tiberius (Wroth XVII, 3; B, H, Θ), 4 sol.; Phocas (Wroth XX, 4, 5; $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{U}$ or $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{G}$, B, Γ , Δ , ϵ , Z, H, Θ , I), 26 sol.; Heraclius I (Wroth XXIII, 2, 3; $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{U}$, ϵ or I), 18 sol.; Heraclius w. Heraclius Constantine, 613–641 (Wroth XXIII, 4–8; A, B, ϵ , S, Z, H, Θ , I and uncertain), 103 sol.

Disposition: Constantinople.

Note by Dr. Kurt Regling.

Chatby Hoard, see Alexandria, 1903.**Chinon, France, 1881.**

Burial— c.518–527 A.D.

81 \mathfrak{A}

Barbaric imitations of Zeno (474–491), 1; Anastasius I, 70; Justin I (518–527), 10.

Disposition: Ernest Gabriel.

Robert, Ch. Trésor de Chinon. *Annuaire Soc. fran. num. et d'arch.*, VI, 1882-83, p. 164-178, pl. IV.

Rev. Arch., 1883, p. 378 (Review of above).

Blanchet, A. Les trésors de monnaies romaines et les invasions germaniques en Gaule. Paris, 1900. No. 503. p. 226.

Bolin, S. Fynden av romerska mynt i det fria Germanien. Lund, 1926. Bilagor I, p. 172.

Rev. Num., 1929, p. 111.

Chryso (near Delphi), Greece, 1929?

Burial—

560 Æ

Frankish of G. de Villehardouin (1245-1278), Charles I d'Anjou, Charles II d'Anjou, Florence de Hainant, Isabelle de Villehardouin, Philip of Savoy, Philip of Tarentum; Dukes of Athens, Guillaume de la Roche, Guy de la Roche; Byzantine of John II Angelos Comnenus (1303-1318).

Disposition: National Museum, Athens.

Bull. corr. hell., vol. 53, 1929, p. 492-493.

Cittanuova, Italy, 1923?

Burial—

Æ

Leo VI (886-912); Theodora, daughter of Constantine VIII (1055-1056).

Disposition:

Not. Scav., 1924, p. 104.

Clausholm, Estonia, 1880.

Burial—

553 Æ

Byzantine, 2; Western European, 525; Cufic, 26.

Disposition: Arensburg Museum.

Vasmer, R. R. *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, Del 40: 2, Stockholm, 1929. p. 42-43.

20 BYZANTINE COIN HOARDS

Frank, H. Die baltisch-arabischen Fundmünzen. (Mitteil. aus dem Gebiete der Gesch. Liv-, Est-, und Kurlands, XVIII. Riga, 1908.) p. 393.

Coïno, Bulgaria, 1930.

Burial— c.2000 Æ

Pot hoard of Comneni emperors, 11th cent.

Disposition:

Mouchmov, N. A. Bull. inst. arch. bulgare, VI, 1929–30, p. 317. (Bulgarian text.)

Constantinople, Turkey, 1910?

Burial— 2 Æ

Maurice Tiberius, 582–602, (Sabatier Pl. XXIV, 18); Theophilus, 829–842, (Sabatier Pl. XLIII, 14).

Disposition:

Frankfurter Münzzeitung, 1910, p. 177.

Corinth, Greece.

Burial— 478 Æ

Greek of 4th to 3rd cent. B.C., 3; Late Roman from Claudius II to Leo I, 360; Justinian I (518–527), 1; Uncertain of 4th to 5th cent., 114.

Disposition:

Num. Chron., 1931, p. 229–233.

Corinth Excavations, 1896–1929 (1).

Burial— 74 Æ

Isaac I (1057–1059) 70 Æ; 4 uncertain.

Disposition: National Museum, Athens.

Edwards, Katharine M. Corinth; Results of excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Vol. VI: Coins, 1896–1929. Cambridge, Mass., 1933. p. 12, 140, pl. X.

Corinth Excavations, Greece, 1896–1929 (2).

Burial— Not a hoard. 5623

Anastasius I, 7; Justin I, 8; Justinian I, 40; Justin II, 85; Tiberius II, 16; Maurice Tiberius, 9; Phocas, 18; Heraclius, 9; Constans II, 37; Constantine IV, 1; Constantine V, 1; Leo IV, 2; Nicephorus I, 2; Michael I, 1; Michael II, 2; Theophilus, 24; Michael III, 4; Basil I, 50; Leo VI, 158; Constantine VII w. family, 545; Nicephorus II, 37; John I Zimisces, Basil II w. Constantine VIII, and Romanus III, 825; Michael IV, 154; Constantine IX, 96; Theodora, 18; Michael VI, 54; Isaac I, 148; Constantine X, 20; Romanus IV, 21; Michael VII, 69; Nicephorus III, 315; Alexius I, 1080; John II, 138; Manuel I, 1509; Andronicus I, 19; Isaac II, 30; Alexius III, 27; Michael VIII, 1; John VIII, 1: *Thessalonica*—Theodore Angelus Comnenus, 2; Manuel Angelus Comnenus, 2; John I Vatatzes?, 1: *Nicaea*—Theodore I Lascaris, 9; John I Vatatzes, 8; Theodore II Lascaris, 1: *Neopatra*s—John I Angelus Comnenus, 3; *Princes of Antioch*—Tancred, 2; Uncertain late Byzantine, 14; Non-imperial Byzantine, 42.

Disposition: National Museum, Athens.

Edwards, Katharine M. *Corinth; Results of excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Vol. VI: Coins, 1896–1929.* Cambridge, Mass., 1933. p. 121–151, 165–166, pl. X.

Bellinger, A. R. *Catalogue of the coins found at Corinth, 1925.* New Haven, 1930. p. 45–71, pl. II.

Bellinger, A. R. *The anonymous Byzantine bronze coinage.* New York, 1928. (Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 35.)

Corinth, Greece, 1933.

Burial—

22 BYZANTINE COIN HOARDS

Large number of Frankish; John I Vatatzes of Nicaea? (1222–1254), 1. Found during American School Excavations.

Disposition:

Note by Dr. Katherine M. Edwards. To be published in Corinth Excavation Reports.

Corinth (Old), Greece, 1934. (1)

Burial— Soon after 921 A.D. 111 Æ

Romanus I, 919–944 (Wroth LII, 9–11), 111. Found during American School Excavations.

Disposition: Corinth Museum.

Note by Dr. Katherine M. Edwards. To be published in Corinth Excavation Reports.

Corinth (Old), Greece, 1934. (2)

Burial— 1081–1118 A.D. 87 Æ

Leo VI, 886–912 (Wroth LI, 13), 1; Theodora (Wroth LX, 15, 16. Isaac I), 1; Nicephorus III (Wroth LXIII, 9), 11; Alexius I, 1081–1118 (Wroth LXV, 12) 5, (Wroth LXV, 18–22) 34, (Edwards, K. M. Corinth Excavations. Vol. VI, Coins, 1896–1929. pl. X, 126) 10, (Bellinger, A. R. Coins found at Corinth, 1925. pl. II, 5) 5, (Bellinger II, 6) 3, (Bellinger II, 7) 3, (Wroth LIX, 9–10. Constantine IX), 14. Found during American School Excavations.

Disposition: Corinth Museum.

Note by Dr. Katherine M. Edwards. To be published in Corinth Excavation Reports.

Cornus (St. Caterina, Pitinnuri), Sardinia, 1858?

Burial— AV

Justinian II w. Tiberius (705–711); and other Byzantine emperors.

Disposition:

Riv. Ital. Num., 1915, p. 76.

Bull. Arch. Sardo, IV, p. 188; X, p. 117.

Cotrone, Italy.

Burial— 103 *Æ*

Sol., sem., and trem. of Theodosius II (408–450) to Justinian I (527–565).

Disposition:

Orsi, P. *Rivista critica di Cultura calabrese*, I, 1925–26, Heft II, 9 p., illus.

Num. Lit.-Blatt, Jhg. 43, 1926, p. 2054.

Cyprus, ante 1852.

Burial— 5 *Æ*

Theodore I of Nicaea, 1204–1222 (Wroth, *Vandals*, XXVIII, 6–9), 5.

Disposition: British Museum.

Wroth, W. *B. M. Cat., Vandals, etc.*, p. 208, pl. XXVIII.

Cyprus, 1858.

Burial— 512 *Æ*

Constans II (alone) (641–668) 205; Constans II w. Constantine Pogonatus, 59; Constans II, Constantine Pogonatus, Heraclius, and Tiberius, 245; Constantine Pogonatus, Heraclius, and Tiberius (668–680?), 3. Uncirculated.

Disposition: J. L. Warren.

Warren, J. L. On some coins of Constants II and his sons. *Num. Chron.*, 1861, p. 42–55, 228–230. pl. II.

Cyprus, 1899.

Burial— 633 A.D. 5 *Æ*

Theodosius II (408–450), 1 sol.; Justin w. Justinian, 2 sol.; Maurice Tiberius (582–602), 1 sol., 1 medalion; with gold and silver objects.

Disposition: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Sambon, A. Trésor d'orfèvrerie et d'argenterie trouvé à Chypre et faisant partie de la collection de M. J. Morgan. *Le Musée*, III, 1906, p. 121-129, p. 60. illus.

Cf. *Zeit. f. Num.*, 27, 1909, Jahresbericht, p. 36.

Debeletz, Bulgaria, 1899.

Burial— 176 Æ

Comneni emperors?

Disposition: Sofia.

Mouchmov, N. A. *Bull. soc. arch. bulgare*, IV, 1914, p. 272, note 23. (Bulgarian text.)

Debnevo, Bulgaria, 1926.

Burial— 600 Æ

Comneni emperors, 11th cent.

Disposition:

Mouchmov, N. A. *Bull. inst. arch. bulgare*, IV, 1926-27, p. 324. (Bulgarian text.)

Deerlyk, Belgium, 1848.

Burial— 45 *AV* *Æ* 3 Æ

Roman consular, *Æ*; Constantine I, 3 Æ; Valentinian I, *AV*; Theodosius I, *AV*; Justinian I (527-565), *AV*; Gallic, 5.

Disposition: E. C. Lefebure acq. portion.

Lefebure, E. C. *Rev. Belge*, V, 1849, p. 208-211.

Dempozike (near Modon), Greece, 1927.

Burial— 9 *AV*

Alexius I Comnenus (1081-1118), 9 solidi.

Disposition: National Museum, Athens.

Information of K. Konstantopoulos.

Denis, Poltawa, Russia, 1912.

Burial— 397 whole 344 broken \mathfrak{A}
European, 16 whole, 43 broken; Byzantine, 4 br.;
Russian, 3 whole, 4 broken; Cufic, 378 whole,
293 broken.

Disposition:

Vasmer, R. R. *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, Del 40: 2, Stockholm, 1929, p. 32–33.

Dela commiss. imp. arch., St. Petersburg, 1912, no. 295; 1913, no. 237.

Izvestia commiss. imp. arch., LI, p. 17.

Diabovo, Bulgaria, 1924.

Burial— 38 \mathfrak{A}

Isaac II Angelus (1185–1195) and Comneni emperors.

Disposition:

Mouchmov, N. A. *Bull. inst. arch. bulgare*, III, 1925, p. 254. (Bulgarian text.)

Diarbekir, Asia Minor.

Burial— 25 \mathfrak{A}

Michael VII, 1071–1078 (Wroth LXII, 8, 9), 25 sol. All somewhat worn.

Disposition: Constantinople.

Note by Dr. Kurt Regling.

Diarbekir (Hissinkief Citadel), Asia Minor.

Burial— 11 \mathfrak{A}

Michael VII, 1071–1078 (Wroth LXII, 8, 9), 11 sol.

Disposition: Constantinople.

Note by Dr. Kurt Regling.

Diarbekir Vilayet (Turkey), Asia Minor.

Burial— 63 \mathfrak{A}

Constantine IX, 1042–1055 (Wroth LIX, 1, 2), 29 sol.; Constantine X (Wroth LXI, 1), 17 sol.;

Michael VII, 1071–1078 (Wroth LXII, 7), 1 sol.
(Wroth LXII, 8, 9), 16 sol. All in excellent condition.

Disposition: Constantinople.

Note by Dr. Kurt Regling.

Digrans, Gotland, Sweden, 1828.

Burial— 227 whole 7 broken Æ
Western European, 208; Byzantine, 1; Cufic, 18
whole, 7 broken. Latest, 999 A.D.

Disposition:

Vasmer, R. R. *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, Del 40: 2, Stockholm, 1929. p. 38–39.

Markow, A. K. *Topografija kladow wostocnych monet*. St. Petersburg, 1910. p. 72, no. 104; p. 80, no. 170.

Divdedovo, Bulgaria, 1909.

Burial— 286 Æ
Byzantine and Turkish with gold earring.

Disposition:

Mouchmov, N. A. *Bull. soc. arch. bulgare*, IV, 1914, p. 274, note 59. (Bulgarian text.)

Djebel-Derhafla, Tunis, Africa, 1917?

Burial— 7 Æ
Pot hoard of Byzantine solidi.

Disposition: Musée Alaoui au Bardo, Tunis.

Bull. arch. du comité, 1917, p. ccxxxvii.

Djuped, Sweden, 1919.

Burial— 1409 Æ
Swedish, 2; Danish, 1; Anglo-Saxon, 718; German, 679; Hungarian, 1; Byzantine, 1; Arabic, 1; with silver bars and plate.

Disposition: Historical Museum, Stockholm.

Fornvännen, XV, 1920, Statens Historiska Museum och K. Myntkabinett, Tillväxten, p. 12.

Blätter für Münzfreunde, Jhg. 54, 1919, p. 546.

Dnieper Delta, Russia, 1927.

Burial—

7 *Æ*

Heraclius (610–641), 6 sol.; Constans II (641–668), 1 sol.

Disposition:

Frankfurter Münzzeitung, 1931, p. 228.

Dolhesti, Falciu, Rumania, 1881–2.

Burial—

80 *Æ*

Basil II w. Constantine VIII (976–1025).

Disposition:

Moisil, Const. Bul. Soc. Num. Rom., X, 1913, p. 63; XV, 1920, p. 78.

Domerarve, Gotland, Sweden, 1857.

Burial—

368 whole 15 broken *Æ*

Western European, 327; Byzantine of Constantine VII, John I Zimisces (913–976), 4; Cufic, 37 whole, 15 broken. Latest coin, 995 A.D.

Disposition: Historical Museum, Stockholm.

Markow, A. K. Topografija kladow wostocnych monet, St. Petersburg, 1910. p. 74, no. 114.

Vasmer, R. R. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, Del 40: 2, Stockholm, 1929. p. 38–39.

Tornberg, C. J. Symbolae ad rem numarium muhamedanorum (Nova Acta R. Soc. Scient. Upsaliensis, ser. III, 1853–1862), IV, 7.

Dorogobuz, Smolensk, Russia, 1847.

Burial—

Arabic, Byzantine, German, Anglo-Saxon, and Danish coins of 10th–11th cent.

Disposition:

Baur, N. *Zeit. f. Num.*, 1929, p. 149.

Mem. Soc. d'Arch. et Num., St. Petersburg, III, 1849, p. 369.

Draganovo, Bulgaria, 1925.**Burial—***AV* *Æ*

Byzantine, c.2 kilo. *AV*; Byzantine pot hoard of Manuel I Comnenus (1143–1180), Andronicus I Comnenus, Andronicus II w. Michael IX (1295–1320), 9 kilo. *Æ*; Nicopolis ad Istrum (Antoninus Pius), *Æ*.
Two hoards?

Disposition:

Mouchmov, N. A. *Bull. inst. arch. bulgare*, IV, 1926–27, 322. (Bulgarian text.)

Draghijevo, Bulgaria, 1912?**Burial—**10 *AV* 2 *Æ*

Andronicus II (1282–1328), 1 sol.; Michael IX, 9 sol.; Michael Shishman (1323–1330) of Bulgaria, 2 *Æ*; Found with two silver bracelets and silver ring.

Disposition: Sofia.

Filow, B. *Bull. soc. arch. bulgare*, III, 1912–13, p. 335–336. (Bulgarian text.)

Dwiri, Georgia, Transcaucasia, 1929.**Burial—**49 *AV*

Constantine X Ducas (1059–1067), 48; Romanus IV w. Eudocia (1067–1071), 1.

Disposition: Museum of Georgia, Tiflis.

Note supplied by Th. Lotonri, Director of Numismatic Section of Museum of Georgia.

Dzansul, Batum, Transcaucasia, c.1900.

Burial—

Æ

Hoard of concave Æ Byzantine or Trebizond coins of 13th cent. with illegible inscriptions. On convex side either Christ or Virgin Mary; on concave side, two standing emperors.

Disposition:

Pachomov, E. A. *Travaux de la Soc. Scient. d'Azerbaidjan*, Livr. 3, Baku, 1926. p. 55, no. 141.

Echmiadsin County, Erivan, Transcaucasia, 1908.

Burial—

20–30 Æ

Heraclius I (610–641); Heraclius Constantine (613–641).

Disposition: E. A. Pachomov acq. 10.

Pachomov, E. A. *Travaux Soc. Scient. d'Azerbaidjan*, Livr. 3, Baku, 1926. p. 44, no. 68.

Ekerö, see Kaggeholm.

El Djem (Anc. Thysdrus), Tunis, Africa, 1903.

Burial—

62 A

Anastasius I (491–518), 11; Justin I, 19; Justin I w. Justinian, 1; Justinian I (527–565), 31.

Disposition:

Bull. int. de num., III, 1904, p. 36–37.
Spink's Num. Circ., XII, 1904, p. 7650.
Rev. suisse num., 1904–05, p. 539.
Bull. de Num., XI, p. 63.
Blätter für Münzfreunde, 1904, p. 3131.
Chronique des arts, 1904, p. 162.
The Standard, Apr. 23, 1904.

Eleusis, see Lepsina.

Elsehoved, Fyen, Denmark.

Burial—

7 A

Valentinian III (425–455), 1 sol.; Majorianus, 1 sol.;

30 BYZANTINE COIN HOARDS

Leo I, 2 sol.; Zeno, 1 sol.; Anastasius I (491–518), 2 sol.

Disposition: Copenhagen.

Montelius, O. *Från järnåldern*. Stockholm, 1868. Nos. 229, 232.

Aarboeger foer Nordisk Oldkyndighed og historie, 1894, p. 345, No. 147.

Bolin, S. *Fynden av romerska mynt i det fria Germanien*. Lund, 1926. Bilagor I, p. 147.

Nordisk Tidskrift for Oldkyndighed, II, p. 169.

Enges, Gotland, Sweden.

Burial— 365 \mathfrak{A}

Byzantine, 3; Western European, 343; Cufic, 19. Latest of 995 A.D.

Disposition: Historical Museum, Stockholm.

Vasmer, R. R. *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, Del 40: 2, Stockholm, 1929. p. 38–39.

Markow, A. K. *Topografija kladow wostocnych monet*. St. Petersburg, 1910. p. 69, no. 84.

Enner, Aarhus, Denmark.

Burial— 1030 A.D. 1306 \mathfrak{A}

German, Bohemian, English, Irish, Danish, Arabic (1), Byzantine imitations.

Disposition:

Dannenberg, H. *Die deutschen Münzen der sächsischen und frankischen Kaiserzeit*. Berlin, 1876–1905. p. 49.

Antiq. Tidsskrift, 1849, LI, p. 123.

Ephesus, Asia Minor, 1917?

Burial— \mathfrak{A}

Anastasius I (491–518), 2; Justinian I, 8; Justin II w. Sophia, 33; Tiberius II Constantine (578–582), 4.

Disposition: Vienna.

Monatsblatt der numismatischen gesell. in Wien, X, 1917, p. 235–236.

Eremia, Bulgaria, 1924.

Burial— 200 Æ

Manuel I Comnenus (1143–1180); Andronicus I Comnenus (1184–1185).

Disposition:

Mouchmov, N. A. Bull. inst. arch. bulgare, III, 1925, p. 254. (Bulgarian text.)

Erivan (Fortress of Alexander), Transcaucasia, 1878.

Burial— 27 A

Constantine X Ducas (1059–1067), 27.

Disposition:

Trudy of 5th Arch. Convention, Tiflis, p. 250.

Escharen, Netherlands, 1897.

Burial— 65 A

Zeno (474–491), 1 sol.; Barbaric imitations of Anastasius, 1 sol.; Justinian, 2 sol., 5 trem.; and Maurice Tiberius (582–602), 4 sol., 1 trem.; Merovingian, 3 sol., 48 trem.

Disposition:

Wilde, C. Rev. Belge, 1898, p. 253–272, pls. VI–VIII.

Eskelhem (Övede), Gotland, Sweden, 1860.

Burial— 11 A

Honorius (395–423), 2; Majorianus, 1; Libius Severus, 1; Anthemius, 1; Leo I, 1; Anastasius (491–518), 5.

Disposition: National Museum, Stockholm.

Bolin, S. Fynden av romerska mynt i det fria Germanien, Bilagor I, p. 134. Lund, 1926.

Aarboeger foer Nordisk Oldkyndighed og historie, 1894, p. 354, No. 269.

32 BYZANTINE COIN HOARDS

Montelius, Oscar. *Fran Järnåldern*, Stockholm, 1868. p. 22, No. 200.

Janse, O. *Le travail de l'Or en Suede à l'époque mero-vingienne*. Orleans, 1922. p. 54, No. 116.

Acta archaeologica, II, 1931, p. 22.

Janse, O. *Solidi trouvés en Scandinavia*. *Rev. Num.*, 1922, p. 38.

Eskilstuna, Södermanland, Sweden, 1833.

Burial— c.437 \mathfrak{A}

John I Zimisce (969–976), 1 whole, 1 broken; Western European, 418; Cufic, 17. Latest coin of Olof Skötkonung (993–1024 A.D.).

Disposition:

Vasmer, R. R. *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, Del 40: 2, Stockholm, 1929, p. 36–37.

Hildebrand, B. E. *Anglosachiska mynt i svenska Kgl. Myntkabinett*. Stockholm, 1846. p. xxxix.

Tornberg, C. J. *Numi Cufici R. Numophylacii Holmiensis*. Upsaliae, 1848. p. xiii.

Markow, A. K. *Topografija kladow wostocnych monet*. St. Petersburg, 1910. p. 92, no. 4.

Etelhem, Gotland, Sweden, 1929.

Burial— 75 \mathfrak{A}

Solidi of: Honorius (395–423), 2; Placidus Valentinian, 5; Majorianus, 2; Anthemius, 1; Julius Nepos, 11; Arcadius, 1; Theodosius, 12; Marcianus, 4; Leo, 16; Zeno, 7; Basiliscus, 1; Anastasius, 15; Justin (518–527), 8; Barbaric imitations of Honorius, Theodosius, and Anastasius, 5.

Disposition: Historical Museum, Stockholm.

Arné, T. J. *Deux nouvelles découvertes de solidi en Gotland*. *Acta Archaeologica*, II, 1931, p. 1–28. pl. illus.

Bolin, S. *Germania*, XV, 1931, p. 268–271.

Årsbok. *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens*, 1930–32, pp. xxvii, xcv.

Euboea, Greece, 1922.

Burial— 8 Æ

Phocas (602–610).

Disposition: National Museum, Athens.

Information of K. Konstantopoulos.

Filipovtzi, Bulgaria, 1896.

Burial— 110 Æ

Byzantine.

Disposition:

Mouchmov, N. A. *Bull. soc. arch. bulgare*, IV, 1914, p. 271, note 17. (Bulgarian text.)

Finero, Domodossola, Italy, 1888.

Burial— 12 Æ 250 Æ

Anastasius (491–518), Justin, and Justinian (527–566), 4 sol., 8 trem.; Theodoric (493–526) 250 Æ; found with silver jewelry.

Disposition:

Cesano, L. *Atti e Mem. dell'Ist. Ital. Num.*, V, p. 160. *Not. Scav.*, 1889, p. 262; 1890, p. 27.

Fole (near Wisby), Gotland, Sweden, 1910?

Burial— 1902 whole 31 broken Æ

Swedish, 2; Danish, 35; Anglo-Saxon, 720; Byzantine, 4; Arabic, 26 whole, 31 broken; German, 1115.

Disposition:

Frankfurter Münzzeitung, 1910, p. 93.

Föhlhagen, Gotland, Sweden.

Burial— 1080 whole 156 broken Æ

Western European, 399; Byzantine, 1 whole, 1 broken; Cufic, 680 whole, 155 broken. Latest coin, 1000 A.D.

Disposition: Historical Museum, Stockholm.

Markow, A. K. *Topografija kladow wostocnych monet*. St. Petersburg, 1910. p. 81, no. 172.

Vasmer, R. R. *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, Del 40: 2, Stockholm, 1929. p. 36-37.

Dannenberg, H. *Die deutschen Münzen der sächsischen und fränkischen Kaiserzeit*. Berlin, 1876-1905. p. 44.

Frickingen? Württemberg, Germany, 1897.

Burial—

22 *AV*

Leo I (457-474), 1 sol.; Anastasius I, 1 trem.; Justinian I (527-565), 14 sol., 6 trem.

Disposition:

Sixt, G. *Fundberichte aus Schwaben*, V, p. 45 & 49-50. *La Gazette numismatique*, II, 1897, p. 79.

Bolin, S. *Fynden av Romerska mynt i det Fria Germanien*, Bilagor I, p. 179. Lund, 1926.

Historischer Verein zu Dillingen *Jahrbuch*, XI, 1898, p. 169.

Friesland, Netherlands.

Burial—

Large number of barbaric imitations (fourth cent.) of Justin, Justinian and Anastasius in various finds.

Disposition:

Rev. belge, vol. 79, 1927, p. 153.

Boeles, M. P. C. J. A. *Friesland tot de elfde eeuw*. Lattaye, Nijhoff, 1927.

Gaja, Austria, 1858.

Burial—

110 *AV*

Constantine VII w. Romanus II (945-959); Nicephorus II w. Basil II (960-969).

Disposition: Vienna acq. 2.

Archiv f. oester. Geschichtsquellen, XXIV, 1860, p. 403-404.

Gerete, Fardhem, Gotland, Sweden, 1845.

Burial— 1688 \mathfrak{A}

Western European, 1636; Basil II w. Constantine VIII (976–1025), 4; Cufic, 48. Latest coin, 1000 A.D.

Disposition: Historical Museum, Stockholm.

Markow, A. K. *Topografija kladow wostocnych monet*. St. Petersburg, 1910. p. 76, no. 130.

Vasmer, R. R. *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, Del 40: 2, Stockholm, 1929. p. 38–39.

Tornberg, C. J. *Symbolae ad rem numarium muhamedanorum* (Nova Acta R. Soc. Scient. Upsaliensis, Ser. III, 1853–62, Vol. IV, pt. IV, p. 7).

Hildebrand, B. E. *Anglosachsiska mynt i svenska Kgl. Myntkabinett*. Stockholm, 1846. p. LXIV.

Gherman, Bulgaria, 1914.

Burial— 2 \mathfrak{A} 206 \mathfrak{A}

Andronicus II Palaeologus (1282–1328), 2 \mathfrak{A} ; Serbian, 136 \mathfrak{A} ; Bulgarian, 70 \mathfrak{A} ; Silver bracelet. Pot hoard.

Disposition:

Mouchmov, N. A. *Bull. soc. arch. bulgare*, IV, 1914, p. 274, note 65. (Bulgarian text.)

Ghertche-Cunar, Bulgaria, 1927.

Burial— 14 \mathfrak{A}

Tiberius II Constantine (578–582), 1 sol.; other Byzantine, 3 sol., 3 trem.; Dispersed, 7.

Disposition:

Mouchmov, N. A. *Bull. inst. arch. bulgare*, V, 1927–28, p. 382.

Gonia, Isle of Thera, 1910.

Burial— 449 \mathfrak{A}

36 BYZANTINE COIN HOARDS

John II Comnenus (1118–1143), 250; Isaac II Angelus, 84; Alexius III (1195–1203), 111; Uncertain, 4.

Disposition: National Museum, Athens.

Jour. Int. d'Arch. Num., XV, 1913, p. 71–72.

Gornia Bania, Bulgaria, 1906.

Burial—

5 kilo. Æ

Byzantine.

Disposition:

Mouchmov, N. A. Bull. soc. arch. bulgare, IV, 1914, p. 273, note 41. (Bulgarian text.)

Goulette, Tunis, Africa, 1912.

Burial— 2nd quarter of 7th cent. A.D. 69 *AV*
Maurice Tiberius (582–602), 4; Phocas, 5; Heraclius w. Heraclius Constantine (613–641), 60.

Disposition: Musée Alaoui au Bardo, Tunis, acq. 53.

Merlin. Bull. arch. du comité, 1913, p. cxlxxi.

Bull. arch. du comité, 1925, p. lxxxiii, note 3.

Gourdon (commune of), Burgundy, France, 1845.

Burial— c.527 A.D.

104 *AV*

Leo I (457–474), 1 sol.; Zeno, 1 sol.; Anastasius, 14 sol., 63 trem.; Justin I (518–527), 20 sol., 5 trem.

Disposition:

Bolin, S. Fynden av romerska mynt i det fria Germanien. Lund, 1926. Bilagor I, p. 172.

Memoires de la Soc. d'hist. et d'archéol. de Chalon-sur-Saône, 1844–46, p. 289.

Blanchet, A. Les trésors de monnaies romaines et les invasions germaniques en Gaule. Paris, 1900. p. 174.

Rev. Num., 1848, p. 126; 1929, p. 111.

Gralow (near Zantoch), Brandenburg, Germany, 1896.

Burial— c.995 A.D. 34 whole, 263 broken \mathcal{R} Cufic (870–982), 62 broken; John I Zimisce (969–976), $\frac{1}{2}$ piece; with coins, mostly broken, of Italy, 1; England (975–978), 4; Denmark (965–986), 73; Germany (898–1002?), 97; Bohemia, 32.

Disposition: Berlin.

Bahrfeldt, E. *Der Hacksilberfund von Gralow*. *Berliner Münzblätter*, 1896, cols. 2036–2044.

Vasmer, R. R. *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, Del 40: 2, Stockholm, 1929, p. 40–41.

Granitza, Bulgaria, 1923.

Burial— 3 \mathcal{R} 1109 \mathcal{A}
 Alexius I Comnenus (1081–1118), 4 \mathcal{A} ; Manuel I Comnenus, 2 \mathcal{R} , 59 \mathcal{A} ; Andronicus I Comnenus, 4 \mathcal{A} ; Isaac II Angelus (1185–1195), 2 \mathcal{R} , 380 \mathcal{A} ; Remainder of same period, but illegible.

Disposition: Pautalia (Kustendil).

Mouchmov, N. A. *Bull. inst. arch. bulgare*, II, 1923–24, p. 229. (Bulgarian text.)

Guelma, Algeria, Africa, 1843.

Burial— \mathcal{A}
 Four-milliareses pieces of Genseric (429–477) and small copper coins of Hilderic (523–530).

Disposition: M. La Mare, Algeria.

Num. Chron., 1855, p. 5.

Gurghendjik, Silistria, Bulgaria, 1911.

Burial— 22 \mathcal{A}
 Michael VII, 1071–1078 (Wroth, pl. lxvi, 8), 21; Michael w. Maria, (Wroth, pl. lxii, 11), 1; Found with gold and silver ornaments.

Disposition: Sofia acq. 3.

Filow, B. Bull. soc. arch. bulgare, II, 1911, p. 281.
(Bulgarian text.)

Filow, B. Arch. Anz., 1912, p. 576.

Hadji Sinanlar, Varna, Bulgaria, 1914.

Burial— 200 *AV*

Justin (518–527); Justinian I (527–565).

Disposition: Sofia acq. 8; Varna Museum, 3.
Remainder dispersed.

Mouchmov, N. A. Bull. soc. arch. bulgare, IV, 1914,
p. 275, note 76. (Bulgarian text.)

Seure, G. Monnaies antiques en Bulgarie. Rev.
Num., 1923, p. 18.

Arch. Anz., 1915, p. 235.

Halsarve, Gotland, Sweden, 1848.

Burial— 449 whole, 15 broken *Æ*

Western European, 442 whole, 4 broken; Byz. of
John I Zimisce (969–976), 2; Cufic, 5 whole, 11
broken. Latest coin of Olof Skötkonung (993–
1024).

Disposition: Historical Museum, Stockholm.

Markow, A. K. Topografija kladow wostocnych monet.
St. Petersburg, 1910. p. 76, no. 131.

Vasmer, R. R. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antik-
vitets Akademiens Handlingar, Del 40: 2, Stockholm, 1929.
p. 36–37.

Tornberg, C. J. Symbolae ad rem numarium muham-
medanorum (Nova Acta R. Soc. Scient. Upsaliensis, Ser.
III, 1853–62), IV, 4.

Hela, West Prussia, Germany, 1800?

Burial— *AV*

Similar to Bresin find, although larger. Hoard was
melted except for 4 pieces.

Disposition: Berlin.

Levesow, H. Abhandl. Berlin Akad., Hist.-Phil. Klasse, 1833, p. 182.

Neue Berlinische Monatsschrift, VIII, 1802, p. 151.

Henchir-Sidi Amor-Bou-Hadjela, Tunis, Africa, 1908?

Burial— About middle of 7th cent. A.D. 50 *AV* Phocas (602–610), 2 sol.; Heraclius w. Heraclius Constantine, 2 sol., 8 trem.; Heraclius Constantine (613–641), 8 trem.

Disposition: Musée Alaoui au Bardo, Tunis, acq. 20.

Merlin. Bull. arch. du comité, 1909, p. cxcvii–cxcviii. Bull. arch. du comité, 1925, p. lxxxiii, note 3.

Hissar, Bulgaria, 1920.

Burial— *Æ*

Byzantine pot hoard of Comneni emperors of 11th cent.

Disposition: Société arch. Stara Zagora.

Mouchmov, N. A. Bull. soc. arch. bulgare, VII, 1919–20, p. 136. (Bulgarian text.)

Hissar, Bulgaria, 1922.

Burial— 115 *AV*

Michael VII Ducas (1071–1078), 1 sol.; Nicephorus III Botaniates, 58 sol.; Alexius I Comnenus (1081–1118), 6 sol.

Disposition: Sofia acq. 2.

Mouchmov, N. A. Bull. inst. arch. bulgare, I, 1921–22, p. 242. (Bulgarian text.)

Högdarve, Gotland, Sweden.

Burial— 130 *Æ*

English (959–1016), 36; German (962–985), 25; Constantine VII w. Romanus II (945–959), 1; Basil II w. Constantine VIII (976–1025), 1; Arabic, 24 whole, 43 broken; found with various silver objects.

Disposition: Historical Museum, Stockholm.

Årsbok. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikskademiens, 1930–32, p. cxxv–cxxvi.

Hogräns Parish, Gotland, Sweden.

Burial— 39 \mathfrak{R}

Cufic, 11 whole, 5 broken; Basil II w. Constantine VIII (976–1025), 1; German (Mainz, 776–780; Augsburg, 1002–1024), 2; Anglo-Saxon (1016), 18 whole, 2 broken; Barbaric imitation of Anglo-Saxon, 1; Silver bars, 2.

Disposition: National Museum, Stockholm.

Manådsblad, 1896, p. 83.

Hököpinge Parish, Skåne, Sweden, 1820.

Burial— 422 \mathfrak{R}

Constantine VII (913–959), 2 broken; Anglo-Saxon, 195; Swedish, 2; German, 223.

Disposition:

Hildebrand, B. E. Anglosachsiska mynt i svenska Kgl. Myntkabinett. Stockholm, 1846. p. xlv.

Hon Farm, Eker, Buskerud County, Norway, 1834.

Burial— 16 \mathfrak{A} 4 \mathfrak{R}

Valens (364–378), 1 \mathfrak{A} ; Mauricius Tiberius, 1 \mathfrak{A} ; Constantine V w. Leo III, 1 \mathfrak{A} ; Michael III w. Theodora (842–867), 1 \mathfrak{A} ; Frankish (814–840), 3 \mathfrak{A} ; Frankish (817–838 or 838–852), (840–855), 2 \mathfrak{R} ; Anglo-Saxon (805–832), 1 \mathfrak{R} ; Cufic (754–849), 9 dinars, 1 dirhem. Found with large number of gold and silver ornaments.

Disposition: University Cabinet, Oslo.

Holst, H. *Symbolae Osloenses* VI, 1928, p. 74–76, pl.

Holst, H. *Norsk numismatisk forenings smaskrifter*, No. 4: On the coins of the Hon-find. Oslo, 1931. 18 p. 1 pl.

Regling, K. *Zeit. f. Num.*, XLV, 1931, p. 137–138.

Holmboe, C. A. *Descriptio ornamentorum maximam partem aureorum et numorum saeculi VIII & IX, in praedio Hoen . . . repertorum*. 1835.

Bolin, S. *Fynden av romerska mynt i det fria Germanien*, Lund, 1926. Bilagor I, p. 130, note 3.

Aarboeger *foer Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1877, p. 122; 1894, p. 358, no. 344.

Montelius, O. *Från järnåldern*. Stockholm, 1868. p. 28.

Hotnitza, Bulgaria, 1903.

Burial— 126 Æ

Marcianopolis and Nicopolis ad Istrum, 62; Byzantine, 64.

Disposition:

Mouchmov, N. A. *Bull. soc. arch. bulgare*, IV, 1914, p. 272, note 30. (Bulgarian text.)

Hraljero-Raschka, Yugoslavia, 1926?

Burial— Æ

Byzantine of time of Manuel I (1143–1180).

Disposition:

Saria, Baldwin. *Numismatischer Bericht aus Jugoslawien*. *Num. Zeit.*, LX, 1927, p. 15.

Hyères, France, 1910?

Burial— 253 A

Anastasius (491–518); Justinian (527–565).

Disposition: Dispersed.

Bolin, S. *Fynden av Romerska mynt i det Fria Germanien*, Bilagor I, p. 172. Lund, 1926.

Rev. Num., 1910, p. 535.

Le Journal, Aug. 20, 1910.

Le Journal des Débats, Aug. 21, 1910.

42 BYZANTINE COIN HOARDS

Igdir, Erivan Province, Transcaucasia.

Burial— +17 \mathfrak{R}
Heraclius I (610–641); Heraclius Constantine (613–641).

Disposition: I. I. Tolstoy.

Pachomov, E. A. *Travaux Soc. Scient. d'Azerbaidjan*,
Livr. 3, Baku, 1926. p. 44, no. 69.

Tolstoy, I. I. *Monnaies byzantines*, VI, p. 668, Nos.
215–218, pl. XLVIII.

Ilanz, Switzerland, 1904.

Burial— 64 \mathfrak{A} 53 \mathfrak{R}
 \mathfrak{A} of Liutprand (713–744), 1; Uncertain Lombard
kings, 2; Desiderius, 30; Charlemagne, 31: \mathfrak{R} of
Pippin, 9; Charlemagne, 39; Offa, King of Mercia
(757–796), 2; Anglo-Saxon of Egbert of Kent (765–
791), 1; Arabic, 2.

Disposition: Coire Museum.

Jecklim, F. *Mitteil. d. Bayer. Num. Gesell.*, XXV,
1906–07, p. 28–79, pls. I–IV.

Blätter für Münzfreunde, 1906, col. 3458–59.

Berliner Münzblätter, 1906, p. 277, 396; 1932, p. 537.

Rev. Num., 1906, p. 219.

Riv. Ital. Num., XXV, 1922, p. 29–30.

Ilioje, Erzurum Vilayet (Turkey), Asia Minor.

Burial— 6 \mathfrak{A}
Michael VII, 1071–1078 (Wroth LXII, 7), 1 sol.
(Wroth LXII, 8, 9), 5 sol.

Disposition: Constantinople.

Note by Dr. Kurt Regling.

Isaccea, Tulcea, Rumania, 1913.

Burial— 450 \mathfrak{A} scyphate
Alexius, John and Manuel Comnenus (1081–1180).

Disposition:

Moisil. Const. Bul. Soc. Num. Rom., XI, 1914, p. 25.

Ithome, Messenia, Greece, 1900.

Burial—

4 *AV*

John II Angelus of Neopatras (1303–1318).

Disposition: National Museum, Athens.

Information of K. Konstantopoulos.

Izgherli, near Tatar Basardjik, Bulgaria, 1903.

Burial— c.1189 A.D.

c.400 *AV*

Alexius I Comnenus (1081–1118), 55 sol.; John II, 65; Manuel I, 62; Andronicus I, 11; Isaac II Angelus (1185–1195), 47.

Disposition: National Museum, Sofia, 250; Degrand, 150.

Degrand. *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres*, 1903, p. 390–396.

Mouchmov, N. A. *Bull. soc. arch. bulgare*, IV, 1914, p. 272, note 31. (Bulgarian text.)

Tacchella, D. E. *Rev. Num.*, 1903, p. 380.

Blätter für Münzfreunde, 1904, p. 3100.

Jarocin, Poland.

Burial— 1005 A.D

c. 730 whole, 2 broken *Æ*

Constantine VII w. Romanus II (945–959), 1 broken;

John I Zimisce (969–975), 1 broken; 10th—11th

cent. of following: German, 596; Bohemian, 114;

Polish, 1; English, 4; Italian, 3; Arabic, 10.

Disposition: von Jazdzewski of Posen.

Dannenberg, H. *Zeit. f. Num.*, VII, 1880, p. 146–156.

Vasmer, R. R. *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, Del 40: 2, Stockholm, 1929. p. 40–41.

44 BYZANTINE COIN HOARDS

Jervis, Reval, Estonia, 1685.

Burial—

Æ

Anglo-Saxon, German, Byzantine, and Cufic.

Disposition:

Hildebrand, B. E. *Anglosachsiska mynt i svenska Kgl. Myntkabinett*. Stockholm, 1846. p. lxxiii.

Kaggeholm (Ekerö), Uppland, Sweden, 1783.

Burial—

21 Å

Theodosius II (408–450), 4; Marcianus, 1; Leo I, 2; Zeno, 11; Anastasius I (491–518), 2; Unidentified, 1. Found with two gold rings.

Disposition: National Museum, Stockholm.

Liljegren. *Fynd i svensk jord*. Vitterhetsakademiens Handlingar, vol. XIII, Stockholm, No. 245.

Montelius, O. *Från Järnåldern*. Stockholm, 1868. No. 120.

Aarboeger *foer Nordisk Oldkyndighed og historie*, 1894, p. 357, No. 326.

Janse, O. *Le travail de l'or en Suede à l'époque mero-vingienne*. Orleans, 1922. p. 67, No. 222.

Janse, O. *Solidi trouvés en Scandinavie*. *Rev. Num.*, 1922, p. 39.

Bolin, S. *Fynden av romerska mynt i det fria Germanien*, Lund, 1926. Bilagor I, p. 132.

Acta archaeologica, II, 1931, p. 24.

Kaleutze, Attica, Greece, 1922.

Burial—

82 Æ

Manuel I Comnenus (1143–1180).

Disposition: National Museum, Athens.

Information of K. Konstantopoulos.

Kalipetrovo (Silistra), Rumania, 1928.

Burial— End of 11th cent.

31 Å

Basil II Bulgaroktonos (976–1025), 4; Constantine IX Monomachus, 6; Isaac I Comnenus, 1; Con-

stantine X Ducas, 4; Romanus IV, Eudocia Makrembolitissa, Michael VII, Constantine, and Andronicus (1067–1071), 4; Michael VII Ducas, 6; Alexius I Comnenus (1081–1118), 1. Found with gold ornaments.

Disposition: National museum of antiquities, Bucharest.

Severeanu, G. Tezaurul din Kalipetrovo (Silistra). (Extras din "Inchinare lui N. Iorga cu prilejul implinirii varstei de 60 de ani.") Cluj, 1931. 8 p.

Cronica numismatica si arheologica, Anul X, 1934, p. 16.

Kapril di Sebenico, Yugoslavia, 1900?

Burial—

2 *AV*

Anastasius (Sabatier, I, pl. VIII, 25), 1 sol.; Justinian (Sabatier, pl. XII, 5), 1 trem.

Disposition:

Bull. di archeol. e storia dalmata, Spalato, 1901, p. 70.
Zeit. f. Num., XXIV, 1904, Jahresber., p. 22.

Katlunds, Grotlingbo, Gotland, Sweden, 1842.

Burial—

+1554 *Æ*

Byzantine, 2 broken; Anglo-Saxon, 505; Danish, 5; German, 1032; Cufic (785–1001), 13 broken.

Disposition:

Pachomov, E. A. Travaux Soc. Scient. d'Azerbaidjan, Livr. 3, Baku, 1926. p. 86, no. 288.

Khirbat Dubel, Mt. Carmel, Palestine, 1928.

Burial— c.611–12 A.D.

355 *Æ*

Anastasius I (491–518), 33; Justin I, 109; Justin I w. Justinian I, 3; Justinian I, 95; Justin II, 1; Tiberius II, 36; Maurice Tiberius, 7; Phocas, 2; Heraclius (610–641), 39. (Latest of the 2nd yr. of Heraclius, 611–12 A.D.)

Disposition:

Lambert, C. Quart. of Dept. of Antiq. in Palestine, I, 1931, p. 55-68, pls. XXXV-XXXVI.

Num. Lit.-Blatt, Jhg. 49, 1932, p. 2594.

Zeit. f. Num., XLI, 1931, p. 295.

Klein Schelken, Hermannstadter Kreis, Rumania, 1856.

Burial— 80-100 \mathcal{A}

Only the following seen and identified: Theodosius I (394-395), 1; Theodosius II, 16; Zeno, 2; Basiliscus, 1; Anastasius I, 1; Justin I (518-527), 1.

Disposition:

Archiv für Österreichische Geschichtsquellen, XXIV, 1860, p. 392.

Kenner, F. Beiträge zur Chronologie der archäologischen Funde in der österreichischen Monarchie, Wien, 1850ff. VI, p. 168. (A reprint of above.)

Archiv d. Vereins f. Siebenburgische Landeskunde, n.f., XIII, 1876, p. 336.

Bolin, S. Fynden av romerska mynt i det fria Germanien. Lund, 1926. Bilagor I, p. 187.

Korostowo, Kreis Riazan, Russia, 1891.

Burial— 25 whole 910 broken \mathcal{A}
 Byzantine, 1 whole, 2 broken; Western European, 4 whole, 9 broken; Cufic, 15 whole, 904 broken.
 Latest of John Zimisces (969-976) and Cufic of 985/6 A.D.

Disposition:

Vasmer, R. R. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, Del 40: 2, Stockholm, 1929. p. 32-33.

Kvarna, Gotland, Sweden, 1839.

Burial— c. 137 \mathcal{A}

Basil II w. Constantine VIII (976-1025), 2; Western European, 123; Cufic, 12.

Disposition:

Vasmer, R. R. *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, Del 40: 2, Stockholm, 1929, p. 36–37.

Hildebrand, B. E. *Anglosachsiska mynt i svenska Kgl. Myntkabinett*. Stockholm, 1846. p. lix.

Tornberg, C. J. *Numi Cufici R. Numophylacii Holmiensis*. Upsaliae, 1848. p. xxxvi.

Markow, A. K. *Topografija kladow wostocnych monet*. St. Petersburg, 1910. p. 80, no. 161.

Lacco Ameno, Ischia, Italy, 1891.

Burial—

129 *AV*

Heraclius I (610–641); Heraclius I w. Heraclius Constantine; Heraclius I, Heraclius Constantine, and Heraclonas; Constans II; Constans II w. Constantine Pogonatus; Constans II, Constantine Pogonatus, Heraclius, and Tiberius; Constantine Pogonatus, Heraclius, and Tiberius (668–779).

Disposition:

Cesano, L. *Atti e Mem. dell'Ist. Ital. Num.*, V, p. 161. *Not. Scav.*, 1895, p. 83.

Lachin, Zangezur, Kurdistan, Transcaucasia, 1925.

Burial—

+5 *AV*

A number Byzantine, 5 of which were concave gold pieces of Constantine X Ducas (1059–1067).

Disposition: Azerbaidjan Arch. Committee acq. 5.

Pachomov, E. A. *Travaux de la Soc. Scient. d'Azerbaidjan*, Livr. 3, Baku, 1926. p. 49, no. 95.

Lagbe, Pisidia, Asia Minor, 1920.

Burial— c.832–9 A.D.

102 *AV*

Solidi of Leo III, 717–741 (Wroth, XLII, 10), 3; Constantine V (Wroth, XLIII, 22), 10, (Wroth,

XLV, 23), 16; Leo IV (Wroth, XLV, 20), 1, (Wroth, XLV, 21), 3; Constantine VI w. Irene (Wroth, XLVI, 5), 1; Nicephorus I (Wroth, XLVI, 12), 1; Nicephorus I w. Stauricus (Wroth, XLVI, 14-15), 14; Michael I w. Theophylactus (Wroth, XLVII, 3), 2; Leo V w. Constantine (Wroth, XLVII, 10), 9; Leo V w. Leo VI (Tolstoi, II, pl. 69, 1), 1; Michael II w. Theophilus (Wroth, XLVIII, 1), 5; Theophilus (Wroth, XLVIII, 15), 35; Theophilus, Michael and Constantine, 832?-839? (Wroth, XLVIII, 16), 1.

Disposition: Museo Nazionale, Rome and E. T. Newell.

Note by E. T. Newell. To be published.

Lapithos, Cyprus.

Burial—

Byzantine coins of 565-685, found with jewels and silver plate.

Disposition:

Bull. soc. nat. ant. France, 1903, p. 172.

Larsarve, Alskogs, Gotland, Sweden, 1854.

Burial—

c. 205 whole, c. 12 broken \mathfrak{A} Basil II w. Constantine VIII (976-1025), 1; Western European, 200; Cufic, c. 4 whole, c. 12 broken. Latest coin of Olof Skötkoning (993-1024).

Disposition:

Vasmer, R. R. *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, Del 40: 2, Stockholm, 1929. p. 36-37.

Hildebrand, B. E. *Anglosachsiska mynt i svenska Kgl. Myntkabinett*. Stockholm, 1846. p. liii.

Markow, A. K. *Topografija kladow wostocnych monet*. St. Petersburg, 1910. p. 67, no. 65.

Leal, Estonia, 1924.

Burial— 5 \mathfrak{R}

Cufic (897–906), 4 dirhems; Constantine VII w. Romanus II (945–959), 1.

Disposition:

Vasmer, R. R. Communications of Acad. for history of material culture, Leningrad, I, 1926, p. 292.

Leidischehir, Konya Vilayet (Turkey), Asia Minor.

Burial— 15 \mathfrak{A}

Constantine IV, 668–685 (Wroth XXXVI, 4; \downarrow < or H1, both probably mistruck A) 2 sol., (Wroth XXXVI, 2, 3; N), 1 sol.; Justinian II, 685–695 (Wroth, XXXVIII, 13, 14; B, Δ , ϵ A, S, Z) 10 sol., (Wroth XXXVIII, 15, 16; H and uncertain), 2 sol. All excellent to mint state. Part of Tschausch Find?

Disposition: Constantinople.

Note by Dr. Kurt Regling.

Lepsina (Anc. Eleusis), Greece, 1862.

Burial— c.1310 A.D. 1075 \mathfrak{R} and Bill. 1 \mathfrak{E}
 French of Philip IV (1285–1307), 175 gros tournois; Sicilian of Frederick I of Aragon (1296–1331), 100AR; 800 of the following: Princes of Achaea (1246–1310) bill.; Dukes of Athens (1224–1310) bill.; Manfred of Epirus (1258–1266), 1AE; Philip of Tarentum (1294–1310); John I Angelus Comnenus (1278–1301).

Disposition:

Lenormant, F. Rev. Num., 1864, p. 37–52.

Lilla Klintegårda, Gotland, Sweden, 1704.

Burial— 581 \mathfrak{R}

50 BYZANTINE COIN HOARDS

Basil II w. Constantine VIII (976–1025), 1; Anglo-Saxon, 17; Danish, 5; German, 554; Cufic, 1.

Disposition:

Hildebrand, B. E. *Anglosachsiska mynt i svenska Kgl. Myntkabinett*. Stockholm, 1846. p. lxi.

Lilla Rone, Gotland, Sweden.

Burial— 177 whole, 62 broken Æ
Byzantine, 3; Western European, 4; Cufic, 170 whole, 62 broken. Latest of Sven Estridsen (1047–1076).

Disposition: Historical Museum, Stockholm.

Vasmer, R. R. *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, Del 40: 2, Stockholm, 1929. p. 36–37.

Markow, A. K. *Topografija kladow wostocnych monet*. St. Petersburg, 1910. p. 68, no. 75.

Lilla Vadstade, Gotland, Sweden.

Burial— 1416 whole, 47 broken Æ
Byzantine, 1 whole, 2 broken; Western European, 1385 whole, 45 broken; Cufic, 30. Latest coin of 970 A.D.

Disposition: Historical Museum, Stockholm.

Vasmer, R. R. *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, Del 40: 2, Stockholm, 1929. p. 36–37.

Markow, A. K. *Topografija kladow wostocnych monet*. St. Petersburg, 1910. p. 75, no. 123.

Lindos, Isle of Rhodes.

Burial— 100 EL 6 Æ
John II Comnenus, 1118–1143 (Wroth LXVIII, 1), 1 sol.; Manuel I, 1143–1180 (Wroth LXIX, 2) 12 sol., (Wroth LXIX, 10) 27 sol., (Wroth LXIX, 6), 50 sol.

Disposition: Constantinople acq. 90 listed above;
Rhodes Museum acq. remainder.

Note by Dr. Kurt Regling.

London, England, 1872.

Burial— 9 Æ

Justin II w. Sophia (518–527), 1; Heraclius, 1; Constantians II, 1; Constantine V, 1; John I, 2; Manuel I Comnenus, 1; Andronicus II Palaeologus (1282–1328), 1; Uncertain, 1.

Disposition:

Webb, P. H. Num. Chron., 1903, p. 103.

Luurila, Hattula, Finland, 1906.

Burial— c.1040 A.D. 123 whole, 3 broken Æ

Western European, 92; Byzantine, 3; Cufic, 28 whole, 3 broken.

Disposition:

Vasmer, R. R. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, Del 40: 2, Stockholm, 1929. p. 42–43.

Finska Forminnesföreningens Tidskrift, 36, 3.

Madara, Bulgaria, 1903.

Burial— 200 Æ

Byzantine and Roman.

Disposition:

Mouchmov, N. A. Bull. soc. arch. bulgare, IV, 1914, p. 272, note 32. (Bulgarian text.)

Mahala-Pissaratzi, Bulgaria, 1927.

Burial— 13 Æ 300–400 Æ

John II Comnenus (1118–1143). Pot hoard.

Disposition: Sofia acq. 3 Æ, 70 Æ.

Mouchmov, N. A. Bull. inst. arch. bulgare, V, 1927–28, p. 383. (Bulgarian text.)

Burial— 29 *N*

Disposition: Constantinople acq. 12.

Mallgards, Gotland, Sweden, 1854.

Disposition: Historical Museum, Stockholm.

Vasmer, R. R. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, Del 40: 2, Stockholm, 1929. p. 36-37.

Burial— 361 Æ 1 *N*

Disposition: National Museum, Athens.

Information of K. Konstantopoulos.

Burial— 203 whole, 562 broken R

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Disposition: Towarzwystwo Naukowe Collection,
Thorn, acq. a portion.

Chmielecki, K. Berliner Münzblätter, Jhg. 29, 1908,
p. 133-138.

Medjid Eüsü, Adana Vilayet (Turkey), Asia Minor.

Burial—

6 \mathcal{A}

Tiberius II Constantine, 578-582 (Wroth XIII, 1),
1 sol.; Phocas (Wroth XX, 4, 5), 2 sol.; Heraclius
I, 610-641 (Wroth XXIII, 2, 3) 2 sol., (Wroth
XXIII, 13), 1 sem.

Disposition: Constantinople.

Note by Dr. Kurt Regling.

Mengen, Oberbaden, Germany, 1932.

Burial—

7 \mathcal{A} 1 \mathcal{A}

Theodoric (493-526), 7; illegible Constantinian \mathcal{A}
1. Found in grave.

Disposition: Freiburger Augustinermuseum.

Werner, J. Blätter für Münzfreunde, Jhg. 68, 1933,
p. 674-679.

Mesembria, Bulgaria, 1932.

Burial—

13 \mathcal{A}

John II Comnenus (1118-1143), 13 sol. Found in
digging canal.

Disposition:

Note by Th. Gerassimov.

Mezzocammino (Via Ostiense), Italy, 1916.

Burial—

107 \mathcal{A}

Valens (364-378), 3; Valentinian II, 1; Theodosius
I, 1; Theodosius II, 1; Johannes, 1; Libius Severus,
1; Zeno, 1; Odovacar (476-493), 1; Anastasius?
(491-518), 1; illegible of post-constantinian period,
57; unidentifiable, 39. Found in one of 6 tombs
excavated.

Disposition:

Cesano, L. *Riv. Ital. Num.*, 1918, p. 99.

Mgowo, West Prussia, Germany, 1893.

Burial— c.800 \mathfrak{R}

John I Zimisces (969–976), 1; Basil II w. Constantine VIII (976–1025), 2; German of 10th—11th cent. Many broken pieces.

Disposition:

Dannenberg, H. *Berliner Münzblätter*, 1906, p. 335–340; 1908. p. 165; 1909, p. 322–327.

Mikolajevicy, Petrokov, Poland, 1893.

Burial— Before 1065 A.D. c.3190 grm. \mathfrak{R}

Arabic (927–991); Basil II w. Constantine VIII (976–1025); English; Hungarian; Bohemian; German (1038–1347).

Disposition:

Baur, N. *Zeit. f. Num.*, XL, 1930, p. 215–217.
Otchet Imp. Arch. Commiss., 1893. p. 143.

Molody, Pskov, Russia, 1878.

Burial— 1010 A.D. c.3 kilo. \mathfrak{R}

Arabic, 109 dirhems, many broken; John I Zimisces (969–976), 1 broken; Basil II w. Constantine VIII (976–1025), 1 broken; Anglo-Saxon; Bohemian; German.

Disposition:

Baur, N. *Zeit. f. Num.*, 1929, p. 133–134.
Trudy of 5th Arch. Convention, Tiflis, p. 251.
Vasmer, R. R. *Kunigl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, Del 40: 2, Stockholm, 1929. p. 32–33.

Mominbrod, Bulgaria, 1914.

Burial— 106 \mathfrak{A}

Justin I (518–527).

Disposition: Sofia.

Mouchmov, N. A. *Bull. soc. arch. bulgare*, IV, 1914, p. 275, note 73. (Bulgarian text.)

Monte Roduni del Sannio, Italy.

Burial— 63 Æ

Anastasius I (491–518) and Justinian I (527–565), 30; Ostrogoths, 26; Vandals, 4; Uncertain, 3.

Disposition:

Cesano, L. *Riv. Ital. Num.*, XXVI, 1913, p. 514–519, 529–530.

Friedlander, J. *Münzen der Vandalen*. 1849. p. 41f.

Kraus, F. F. *Die Münzen Odovacars und des Ostgotenreiches in Italien*. Halle (Saale), 1928. p. 36.

Riv. Ital. Num., 1897, p. 22. (Refers to this as only hoard posterior to Anastasius accurately and precisely described.)

Monte Rosa, Lipari, 1909?

Burial— 1745 Æ

Lipara, 1; Carthage, 1; Roman republican, 1; Roman imperial (Gallienus to Leo I), 312. Remainder illegible, Vandalic and Ostrogothic.

Disposition: Syracuse.

Orsi, P. *Riv. Ital. Num.*, XXIII, 1910, p. 352–359.

Cesano, L. *Riv. Ital. Num.*, XXVI, 1913, p. 526–527.

Kraus, F. F. *Die Münzen Odovacars und des Ostgotenreiches in Italien*. Halle (Saale), 1928. p. 36.

Motta San Giovanni, Italy, 1923.

Burial— 16 Æ

Theodora, daughter of Constantine VIII (1055–1056), 11; Isaac I Comnenus, 2; Constantine X (1059–1067), 3.

Disposition: Museo Civico, Reggio Calabria.

Not. Scav., 1924, p. 105.

Mt. Castro Dei Volsci, Italy.

Burial— 1461 Æ

Post-Constantinian (broken & illegible), 143; Leo I (457–473), 4; Zeno, 1; Anastasius, 9; Justinian, 302; Huneric, 3; Gunthamund, 13; Gelimer, 5; Theodoric, 9; Athalaric, 31; Theodahad, 13; Baduila (541–552), 636; Parthian of Phraates IV, 1; 3 with bust of Theodosius II (?); Unidentified, 287.

Disposition: Rome.

Cesano, L. *Riv. Ital. Num.*, XXVI, 1913, p. 511–551.

Kraus, F. F. *Die Münzen Odovacars und des Ostgotenreiches in Italien* Halle (Saale), 1928. p. 36.

Mtskheth, Transcaucasia, 1872.

Burial— Æ

One Æ Byzantine and several Sassanian.

Disposition:

Pachomov, E. A. *Travaux Soc. Scient. d'Azerbaidjan*, Livr. 3, Baku, 1926. p. 42, no. 53.

Munkegaard, Bornholm, Denmark, 1864.

Burial— c.1000 A.D. 866 Æ

Constantine VII w. Romanus II (945–959), 1 whole, 1 broken; with Cufic (906–975) and Bohemian, Swiss, Italian and German of 10th cent.

Disposition:

Berliner Blätter für Münz-, Siegel-, und Wappenkunde, III, p. 31–40.

Dannenberg, H. *Die deutschen Münzen der sächsischen und frankischen Kaiserzeit*. Berlin, 1876–1905. p. 45–56.

Munningen, Bayrisch-Schwaben, Germany, 1906.

Burial— 9 Æ

Tiberius II Constantine (578–584), 1 sol.; Barbaric imitations of Justin II and Justinian, 8 trem.

Disposition:

Cahn, Julius. Ein Goldmünzenfund des frühen 7. Jahrhunderts aus dem Grabfeld von Munningen. *Germania* (Röm.-German. Kom. d. d. Arch. Inst.) XIV, 1930, p. 161-165. illus.

Frankfurter Münzzeitung, 1931, p. 325-328. illus. (Reprint of above.)

Blätter für Münzfreunde, 1907, p. 3767.

Rev. Num., 1932, p. 240.

Myrungs Farm, Linde County, Gotland, Sweden, 1807.

Burial— c.575 \mathfrak{R}

Byzantine of Basil II w. Constantine VIII (976-1025), 1; Anglo-Saxon, 320; German, 243, Cufic of 10th cent., 11 broken. Found with silverware.

Disposition: Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm.

Pachomov, E. A. Travaux de la Soc. Scient. d'Azerbaidjan, Livr. 3, Baku, 1926. p. 85, no. 285.

Vasmer, R. R. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, Del 40: 2, Stockholm, 1929, p. 36-37.

Hildebrand, B. E. Anglosachsiska mynt i svenska Kgl. Myntkabinett. Stockholm, 1846. p. L.

Markow, A. K. Topografija Kladow wostocnych monet. St. Petersburg, 1910. p. 76, no. 129.

Naousa, Isle of Paros, 1927.

Burial— 50 \mathfrak{A}

Manuel I Comnenus (1143-1180); Isaac II Angelus; Alexius IV (1203-1204).

Disposition: National Museum, Athens.

Information of K. Konstantopoulos.

Narona, Dalmatia, Yugoslavia.

Burial— c.582 A.D. 65 \mathfrak{A}

Justin I (518-527), 6; Justinian I, 24; Justin II, 24; Tiberius II Constantine (578-582), 5. Found with jewelry.

Disposition:

Bulletino di archeologia e estoria dalmata, Spalato, 1902, p. 198ff.

Nuovo bull. di arch. chret., 1902, p. 234–244.

Bolin, S. Fynden av Romerska mynt i det fria Germanien. Lund, 1926. Bilagor I, p. 187.

Zeit. f. Num., XXIV, 1904, Jahresbericht, p. 23.

Näs, Upland, Sweden, 1704.

Burial—

Æ

John I Zimisce (969–976), Basil II w. Constantine VIII (976–1025), Anglo-Saxon, Swedish, Danish, German, and Cufic.

Disposition:

Hildebrand, B. E. Anglosachsiska mynt i svenska Kgl. Myntkabinett. Stockholm, 1846. p. xxxiii.

Nemet-Csernya, Yugoslavia.

Burial—

AV Æ Æ

Denarius of Antoninus Pius (138–167); Æ of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913–959) to Alexius I (1081–1118); AV of Comneni emperors.

Disposition:

Bul. Soc. Num. Rom., XV, 1920, p. 80.

Numiz. Közlöny, 1909, p. 144.

Nixdjup, (Commune of När), Gotland, Sweden.

Burial—

6 AV

Zeno (474–491), 2; Anastasius (491–518), 4.

Disposition: National Museum, Stockholm.

Janse, O. Le travail de l'or en Suede a l'époque mero-vingienne. Orleans, 1922. p. 58.

Aarboeger foer Nordisk Oldkyndighed og historie, 1894, p. 354, No. 270.

Montelius, O. Fran Järnåldern. Stockholm, 1868. p. 24, No. 212.

Acta archeologica, II, 1931, p. 22.

Nokalakewi, Georgia, Transcaucasia, 1929.

Burial— 23 *Æ*

Epoch of Maurice Tiberius (582–602).

Disposition: Museum of Georgia, Tiflis.

Information of Th. Lotonri, Director of Numismatic Section of Museum of Georgia.

Norrqvie, Gotland, Sweden, 1834.

Burial— 169 *Æ*

Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913–959), 2; John I Zimisce, 2; Basil II w. Constantine VIII (976–1025), 7; Anglo-Saxon, 16; German, 21; Cufic, 59 whole, 62 broken.

Disposition:

Hildebrand, B. E. *Anglosachsiska mynt i svenska Kgl. Myntkabinett*. Stockholm, 1846. p. liii.

Novyi Dvor, Minsk, Russia, 1871.

Burial— c.1000 A.D. 399 *Æ*

John Zimisce (969–976), 1; with German, Bohemian, Burgundian, and Arabic of 10th cent.

Disposition:

Berliner Blätter für Münz-, Siegel-, und Wappenkunde, VI, p. 287–296.

Pachomov, E. A. *Travaux Soc. Scient. d'Azerbaidjan*. Baku, 1926. p. 78, no. 260.

Otchet Imp. Arch. Comm., 1870–71, p. xliii; 1872, p. xxvii.

Vasmer, R. R. *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, Del 40: 2, Stockholm, 1929, p. 32–33.

Nygårds, Gotland, Sweden, 1874.

Burial— 1172 whole 35 broken *Æ*

Byzantine, 11 whole, 1 broken; Western European, 1069 whole, 13 broken; Cufic, 92 whole, 21 broken.

Disposition: Historical Museum, Stockholm.

Vasmer, R. R. *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, Del 40:2, Stockholm, 1929. p. 38-39.

Markow, A. K. *Topografija kladow wostocnych monet*. St. Petersburg, 1910. p. 81, no. 178.

Oldenburg, Germany.

Burial— 170 Æ 1 Æ

Justinian (527-565), 10; Phocas, 40; Constans II, 40; Constantine IV, 40; Michael II, 40; Michael III (842-867), 1; Danish of Vladimir I (1157-82), 1 Æ.

Disposition: Keil Museum.

Handelmann, H. *Verzeichniss der Münzsammlung des Schleswig-Holsteinischen Museums vaterländischer Alterthümer in Kiel*. Bd. I, Heft 4. Kiel, 1887. pp. 4, 7, 24 note.

Olympia, Elis, Greece, 1875-77.

Burial— c.4000 Æ

Four Byzantine hoards found in course of excavations, each c.1000. No coins later than Maurice Tiberius (582-602).

Disposition:

Verhandl. der num. Gesell. zu Berlin, 1879-1880, p. 6-7. (In *Zeit. für Num.*, VIII, 1881.)

Opaca, Bulgaria, 1929.

Burial— 13 Æ

Andronicus II Palaeologus (1282-1328). Found in a Roman clay lamp.

Disposition:

Mouchmov, N. A. *Bull. inst. arch. bulgare*, VI, 1930-31, p. 314. (Bulgarian text.)

Opize Monastery, Batum, Transcaucasia, 1900.

Burial— Æ

Several Byzantine, one of which was of Leo VI w. Constantine VII (911–912). Number and identity of remainder unknown.

Disposition:

Pachomov, E. A. *Travaux de la Soc. Scient. d'Azerbaidjan*, Livr. 3, Baku, 1926. p. 47, no. 83.

Oranienburg, Brandenburg, Germany, 1861.

Burial— 79 \mathfrak{R}

Constantine VII w. Romanus II, 1; with German, Polish, Italian, and Arabic.

Disposition:

Berliner Blätter für Münz-, Siegel-, und Wappenkunde, III, 1866, p. 219.

Ortacesos, Sardinia, 1860?

Burial— \mathfrak{A}

Quantity of gold coins one of which was of Tiberius II Constantine (578–582).

Disposition:

Spano, G. *Bull. Arch. Sardo*, VII, 1861, p. 127.
Riv. Ital. Num., 1915, p. 76.

Osetia, Terek, Transcaucasia.

Burial— \mathfrak{A}

Numerous Byzantine of Anastasius I (488–518); Justinian I; Justin II; Phocas (602–610); and others found in tombs.

Disposition:

Pachomov, E. A. *Trouvailles des monnaies en Azerbaidjan*. *Travaux de la Soc. Scient. d'Azerbaidjan*, Livr. 3, Baku, 1926. p. 44, no. 66.

Proceedings of Fifth Archaeol. Congress, No. 25, p. 9 & 152. (In Russian.)

Ossi, Sassari, Italy, 1907.

Burial— 19 \mathfrak{A}

62 BYZANTINE COIN HOARDS

Tiberius III Apsimarus (698–705), 3 trem.; Justinian II w. Tiberius, 2 trem.; Leo Isauricus, 1 trem.; Liutprand (713–744), 13 trem.

Disposition:

Dessi, V. Riv. Ital. Num., 1908, p. 295–311. pl. VI.
Cesano, L. Atti e Mem. dell'Ist. Num. Ital., V, p. 162.

Ossoytza, Bulgaria, 1926.

Burial— 6 *AV*

Manuel I Comnenus (1143–1180).

Disposition:

Mouchmov, N. A. Bull. inst. arch. bulgare, IV, 1926–27, p. 323. (Bulgarian text.)

Österby, Gotland, Sweden, 1920.

Burial— 199 *Æ*

German, 39; Anglo-Saxon, 98; Byzantine, 4; Arabic, 58.

Disposition: Historical Museum, Stockholm.

Fornvännen, XVI, 1921, Statens Historiska Museum och K. Myntkabinett, Tillväxten, p. 7.

Östjädra, Sweden, 1919.

Burial— c.2100 *Æ*

German, 32; Byzantine, 1; Arabic, c.2056; found with silver jewelry.

Disposition: Historical Museum, Stockholm.

Fornvännen, XV, 1920, Statens Historiska Museum och K. Myntkabinett, Tillväxten, p. 3.

Othem County, Gotland, Sweden, 1846.

Burial— 138 *Æ*

Constantine VII w. Romanus II (945–959), 2; Cufic (808–937), 136. Found under stones in field.

Disposition:

Pachomov, E. A. *Travaux de la Soc. Scient. d'Azerbaidjan*, Livr. 3, Baku, 1926. p. 84, no. 282.

Oxarve, Gotland, Sweden, 1920.

Burial—

629 Æ

Roman (Vespasian to Commodus, 69–192 A.D.), 79 denarii; Byzantine, 104 (86 of Constantine IX Monomachus, 1042–1055); Arabic, 78; German, Anglo-Saxon, Danish, 368; found with silver jewelry.

Disposition: Historical Museum, Stockholm.

Fornvännen, XVI, 1921, Statens Historiska Museum och K. Myntkabinett, Tillvaxten, p. 17.

Bolin, S. *Fynden av romerska mynt i det fria Germanien*, Bilagor I, p. 136. Lund, 1926.

Ozurget County, Kutais, Transcaucasia, 1905.

Burial—

Æ

Hoard of Byzantine concave coins of 11th cent.

Disposition: Dispersed.

Pachomov, E. A. *Travaux. Soc. Scient. d'Azerbaidjan*, Livr. 3, Baku, 1926. p. 49, no. 98.

Padenghe, Desenzano, Brescia, Italy.

Burial—

15 Æ

Leo I (457–473), Zeno Isauricus, Anastasius I and Justin I (518–527), 12 sol., 3 trem. (3 trem. of Anastasius.)

Disposition:

Cesano, L. *Atti e Mem. dell'Ist. Ital. Num.*, V, p. 160. *Not. Scav.*, 1885, p. 336.

Pantalica, Sicily, 1903.

Burial— End 7th cent. A.D.

200–1000 Æ

Solidi of Constantine II (317–337); Constantine IV,

Heraclius and Tiberius (668–680?). Found in vase with ornaments.

Disposition: Dispersed.

Byz. Zeit., 1910, p. 63, illus.

Not. Scav., 1904, p. 367–375.

Pereschtschepino, Poltawa, Russia, 1912.

Burial— 650 A.D.

61 *Æ*

Maurice Tiberius (582–602), 1; Phocas, 2; Heraclius w. Heraclius Constantine, 6; Heraclius with sons, 36; Constans II (641–646), 16.

Disposition: The Hermitage, Leningrad.

Baur, N. Frank. Münzzeitung, 1931, p. 227–229.

Rasseg. Num., 1914, p. 101.

Frank. Münzzeitung, 1912, p. 500.

Berliner Münzblätter, 1912, p. 457.

Pergamum, Asia Minor.

Burial—

1059 *Æ*

Manuel I, 1143 (Wroth LXX, 4) 162, (Wroth LXX, 6) 1, (Wroth LXX, 7) 36, (Wroth LXX, 3, obv.; Rev. similar to LXX, 4), 1; Isaac II (Wroth LXXII, 5, 6), 221; Alexius III (Wroth LXXIII, 7–12), 481; Theodore I of Nicaea, 1204–1222 (Wroth, Vandals, XXVIII, 6–9), 156. Uncertain (Crusader?), 1. Not from German Excavations.

Disposition: Constantinople.

Note by Dr. Kurt Regling.

Pergamum, Asia Minor, Excavations, 1904–08.

Burial— Not a hoard.

500

Anastasius, 2; Justin, 4; Justinian I, 9; Justin II w. Sophia, 10; Maurice Tiberius, 5; Phocas, 1; Heraclius, 4; Heraclius w. son, 12; Heraclius w. wife and son, 1?; Constans II, 79; Constans II w. son, 9;

Constans II w. sons, 36; Constantine IV, 4; Tiberius III, 1; Michael II w. Theophilus, 3; Basil I, Constantine, and Leo VI, 1; Leo VI, 6; Constantine VIII w. Zoe, 1; Romanus II, 1; Nicephorus II, 1; John Zimisces, 1; Constantine VII, 6; Constantine X, 5; Constantine X w. Eudocia, 3; Anonymous, 60; Michael VII, 4; Romanus IV, 2; Anonymous of time of Alexius I, 27; John II, 2; Manuel I, 12; Isaac II, 16; Alexius III, 19; Theodore I and II of Nicaea, 12; John I Ducas Vatatzes, 2; John Angelus Comnenus of Thessalonica, 1; Michael VIII, 5; Andronicus II w. Michael IX, 1; Andronicus II and III, 2; Uncertain, 114.

Disposition: Berlin ?.

Regling, K. *Blätter für Münzfreunde*, 1914, p. 5671-5685, 5703-5718.

Pergamum, Asia Minor, 1912.

Burial— 100 *AV*

John I Vatatzes (1222-1254) of Nicaea (Wroth, *Vandals*, XXIX, 3-8), 100 sol.

Disposition: Berlin acq. 1; Constantinople, 99.

Regling, K. *Zeit. f. Num.*, XXXVIII, 1928, p. 93, note 2.

Perm, Russia, 1851.

Burial— *Æ*

Silver coins of Heraclius and his son Constantine (613-641) found with Indo-Parthian and Sassanid coins of 6th cent. No other data.

Disposition:

Num. Chron., 1870, p. 139, note 1.

Perugia, Italy.

Burial— 418 *Æ*

Ancient, 17; Ostrogothic and Vandalic barbaric imitations, 336; fragments, 65.

Disposition:

Gnecchi, F. *Riv. Ital. Num.*, 1897, p. 19–22.

Kraus, F. F. *Die Münzen Odovacars und des Ostgotenreiches in Italien.* Halle (Saale), 1928. p. 36.

Petes, Gotland, Sweden, 1838.

Burial— 1576 \mathfrak{R}

Basil II w. Constantine VIII (976–1025), 1 whole, 1 broken; Western European, 1562; Cufic, 13. Latest coin of 1002–3 A.D.

Disposition:

Vasmer, R. R. *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, Del 40: 2, Stockholm, 1929. p. 38–39.

Hildebrand, B. E. *Anglosachsiska mynt i svenska Kgl. Myntkabinett.* Stockholm, 1846. p. lv–lvi.

Markow, A. K. *Topografija kladow wostocnych monet.* St. Petersburg, 1910. p. 74, no. 117.

Peuth, Wesenburg, Estonia, 1906.

Burial— 158 \mathfrak{R}

Nicephorus II Phocas (963–969), 1 broken; Basil II w. Constantine VIII, 2 broken; Anglo-Saxon (918–1024), 5 broken; German (929–1024), 34 whole, 6 broken; Cufic (704–952), 3 whole, 89 broken.

Disposition: St. Petersburg Univ., Hermitage, et al.

Vasmer, R. R. *Beiträge zur Kunde Estlands*, XII, 1927, p. 65–100.

Baur, N. *Zeit. f. Num.*, XXXIX, 1929, p. 31.

Vasmer, R. R. *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, Del 40: 2, Stockholm, 1929. p. 42–43.

Philippeville, Algeria, Africa, 1843.

Burial— $\mathfrak{Æ}$

Four-milliareses pieces of Genseric (429–477) w.
small copper coins of Hilderic (523–530).

Disposition: M. La Mare, Algeria.

Num. Chron., 1855, p. 5.

Pitsund Monastery, Sukhum, Transcaucasia, 1915.

Burial—

3 *AV*

Justinian II (685–694; 705–711), 3.

Disposition:

Pachomov, E. A. *Trouvailles des monnaies en Azerbaidjan. Travaux de la Soc. Scient. d'Azerbaidjan*, Livr. 3, Baku, 1926. p. 45, no. 70.

Poltawa, see Pereschtschepino.

Polzin, Pommern, Germany, 1186.

Burial—

208 *Æ*

John I Zimisce (969–976), 1; German; Bohemian; English; Cufic dirhems (808–905); found in an urn with silverware.

Disposition:

Pachomov, E. A. *Travaux Soc. Scient. d'Azerbaidjan*, Livr. 3, Baku, 1926. p. 87, no. 293.

Zeit. für Num., XV, p. 291–297.

Vasmer, R. R. *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, Del 40: 2, Stockholm, 1929. p. 42–43.

Porecje, Russia, 1886.

Burial—

256 whole 162 broken *Æ*

European, 220 whole, 51 broken; Byzantine, 2; Cufic, 36 whole, 109 broken. Latest coins, 1016–1035 A.D.

Disposition:

Markow, A. K. *Topografija kladow wostocnych monet*. St. Petersburg, 1910. p. 26, no. 143.

Vasmer, R. R. *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antik-*

vitets Akademiens Handlingar, Del 40: 2, Stockholm, 1929.
p. 32-33.

Delo Arch. Comm., 1886, no. 14.

Zapiski Archeologicheskago Obshchestva, N. S., III,
p. 199.

Porto Torres, Sardinia, 1922.

Burial—

40 *AV*

Theophilus, Michael II and Constantine (829-842),
16 sol.; Basil I w. Constantine (869-870), 21 sol.;
Arabic of Ibrahim ibn Ahmed (Aghlabide, 874-902),
3. Found with gold ornaments in vase.

Disposition:

Taramelli, A. Not. Scav., 1922, p. 294.

Cesano, L. Atti e Mem. dell'Ist. Ital. Num., V, p. 162.

American Journal of Archaeology, XXVII, 1923, p. 358.

**Postallar, Edirne (Adrianople) Vilayet, Turkey in
Europe.**

Burial—

2 *AV* 374 *Æ*

Manuel I (Wroth LXX, 7) 192, (Obv., Bust of
emperor; Rev., Seated figure) 14; Alexius III
(Wroth LXXIII, 7-12), 31; Theodore I of Nicaea
(Wroth, Vandals, XXVIII, 6-9), 9; John Angelus
of Thessalonica (Num. Chron., 1923, pl. III, 2), 3;
Thessalonica? (Wroth, Vandals, XXVII, 1-7), 8;
Uncertain (Similar to Num. Chron., 1923, pl. III,
5), 5; Seated emperor, Rev. Seated Virgin, 4;
Emperor standing, Rev. Head or standing figure of
Christ, 37; Seated emperor, Rev. Seated Virgin.
(Sabatier LIX, 9), 4; Emperor standing, Rev. Bust
or Seated figure, 25; Uncertain emperor's head,
Rev. Bust or Seated figure, 39; Virgin standing,
Rev. Seated Christ, 3. Two gold coins, illegible.

Disposition: Constantinople.

Note by Dr. Kurt Regling.

Preslav, Bulgaria, 1909.

Burial—

294 Æ

Byzantine pot hoard.

Disposition:

Filow, B. Bull. soc. arch. bulgare, I, 1910, p. 225.
(Bulgarian text.)

Preslav, Bulgaria, 1927.

Burial—

105 Æ 1 Ɱ

Anchialus, 1; Probus (277–282), 1; Basil I, 1; John Zimisces 30; Basil II, 1AR; Michael IV, 8; Theodora (1055–1056), 1; Isaac I Comnenus, 6; Constantine X Ducas, 1; Michael VII Ducas, 2; Alexius I Comnenus, 38; John II Comnenus, 4; Manuel I Comnenus, 1; Andronicus I Comnenus, 1; Isaac II Angelus, 2; Alexius III Comnenus (1195–1203), 4; Anonymous emperors of Constantinople (12th cent.), 1; illegible of 12th cent., 1; Constantine Assemus of Bulgaria (1254–1277), 1; Byzantine lead seal, 1. Found around Church of Symcom. Not a hoard.

Disposition: Société arch. de Preslav.

Mouchmov, N. A. Bull. Inst. arch. bulgare, VI, 1930–31, p. 314–315. (Bulgarian text.)

Priebrow, Brandenburg, Germany, 1914.

Burial—

548 whole 35 broken. Ɱ

Roman imperial of Lucilla, 1; Basil II w. Constantine VIII (976–1025), 2 broken; Italian (983–1024), 4; English (973–1016), 11 whole, 3 broken; Danish, 9 broken; Bohemian (936–1011), 6 whole, 9 broken;

German (917–1050), 526 whole, 12 broken; found with various other silver objects.

Disposition:

Bahrfieldt, E. *Der Priebrower Hacksilberfund*. *Berliner Münzblätter*, Neue Folge, Bd. VIII, p. 273–280, 298–299, 366–369, 399–400.

Priene Excavations.

Burial— 133

Anastasius I, 2; Justin I, 1; Justinian I, 21; Justin II, 1; Justin II w. Sophia, 13; Tiberius Constantine, 8; Tiberius w. Anastasia, 1; Maurice Tiberius, 3; Phocas, 4; Heraclius, 1; Heraclius w. son, 16; Constans II, 9; Leo V w. Constantine, 2; John Zimisce, 8; Michael IV, 2; Constantine IX, 1; Theodora, 2; Michael VI, 1; Romanus IV, 2; Nicephorus III, 3; Manuel I, 7; Isaac II, 4; Alexius III, 3; Theodore I of Nicaea?, 1; Uncertain, 17.

Disposition:

Regling, K. *Die Münzen von Priene*, Berlin, 1927, p. 185–186.

Prinkipo, 1930?

Burial— 14000 *AV*?

Three vases full of gold coins of Byzantine empire.

Disposition:

Rassegna Numismatica, XXVII, 1930, p. 150.

Qvarna, see Kvarna

Rachin County, Kutais, Transcaucasia, 1901.

Burial— *AV*

A few Byzantine concave solidi of 11th cent.

Disposition: Find dispersed.

Pachomov, E. A. *Travaux Soc. Scient. d'Azerbaïdjan*, Livr. 3, Baku, 1926. p. 49, no. 97.

Ragusa, Dalmatia, Yugoslavia, 1892.

Burial— 31 *Æ*

Michael II w. Constantine and Theophilus (832?–839?), 22 sol., 9 sem.

Disposition:

Not. Scav., 1892, p. 332.

Rahovo, Bulgaria, 1910?

Burial— 213 *Æ*

Anchialus, 1; Nicopolis ad Istrum, 1; Istrus, 1; Justinian I, 1; John Zimisce, 1; Roman 208; bronze fibula of 1st cent.; small bronze cross.

Disposition:

Filow, B. Bull. soc. arch. bulgare, II, 1911, p. 274–275. (Bulgarian text.)

Reggio di Calabria, Italy.

Burial— 35 *Æ*

Basil I, 867–886 (Wroth, pl. L, 16), 1; Leo VI (Wroth, pl. LI, 12), 8; Leo VI w. Alexander, 886–912? (Wroth, pl. LI, 14 and 15), 26.

Disposition: Museo Civico, Reggio di Calabria.

Not. Scav., 1912, p. 412.

Reno (near Bologna), Italy, 1857.

Burial— 54 *Æ*

Leo III (717–741), 4; Constantine V w. Leo IV, 18; Leo IV w. Constantine VI, 11; Constantine VI with Irene, 5; Irene of Attica (780–802), 1; Nicephorus I (802–811), 2; Beneventine, 6; Cufic (769–813/4), 13.

Disposition:

Frati, L. Delle antiche monete d'oro ritrovate in Reno. Bologna, 1857. 19p. pls.

Allan, J. Offa's imitation of an Arab dinar. Num. Chron., 1914, p. 84–85.

Cesano, L. Ripostigli di monete di oro bizantine, medievali e moderne rinvenuti in Italia. Atti e Mem. Ist. Ital. Num., vol. 5, p. 162.

Cavedoni, C. Noticia archeologica delle antiche monete d'oro ritrovate in Reno. Messaggero di Modena, no. 1613, Oct. 30, 1857.

Witte, J. de. Rev. Num., 1859, p. 393-399.

Riv. Ital. Num., 1919, p. 78, note 4.

Reval, Isle of Karlos, Finland, 1926.

Burial— 118 Æ

1 Byzantine with 100 German from Otto I to Heinrich II, 3 Anglo-Saxon, and 7 Cufic.

Disposition: Estland. Liter. Gesellschaft in Reval.

Blätter für Münzfreunde, 1927, p. 14.

Rhodes, Isle of Rhodes, 1931.

Burial— +207 Æ

Manuel I, 1143-1180 (Wroth, pl. LXX, 4), 30; Andronicus I (Wroth, pl. LXXI, 6), 4; Isaac II (Wroth, pl. LXXII, 5-6), 163; Manuel II, 1391-1423 (Wroth, LXX, 6), 10.

Disposition: E. T. Newell acq. 21.

Note by E. T. Newell.

Rhodes, Isle of Rhodes, 1932.

Burial— AV

Phocas (602-610); Heraclius w. Heraclius Constantine (610-641).

Disposition:

Rassegna Numismatica, 1933, p. 27.

Rilo, Bulgaria, 1901.

Burial— 128 Æ

Comneni emperors, 11th cent.

Disposition:

Mouchmov, N. A. Bull. soc. arch. bulgare, IV, 1914, p. 272, note 25. (Bulgarian text.)

Rilo, Bulgaria, 1922.

Burial—

249 Æ

John II Comnenus (1118–1143).

Disposition: Rilo school.

Mouchmov, N. A. *Bull. inst. arch. bulgare*, I, 1921–22, p. 241. (Bulgarian text.)

Risungs, Gotland, Sweden, 1837.

Burial—

143 Æ

Basil II w. Constantine VIII (976–1025), 1; Western European, 137; Cufic, 5. Latest coin of 969/70 A.D.

Disposition: Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm.

Hildebrand, B. E. *Anglosachsiska mynt i svenska Kgl. Myntkabinett*. Stockholm, 1846. p. liv.

Vasmer, R. R. *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, Del 40: 2, Stockholm, 1929. p. 36–37.

Markow, A. K. *Topografija kladow wostocnych monet*. St. Petersburg, 1910. p. 62, no. 17.

Rome (Lateran Palace), Italy, 1587.

Burial—

AV

A large number of Arcadius (394–408); Theodosius II; Marcianus; Leo I; Justin I; Justinian I; Tiberius II; Maurice Tiberius; Phocas; Heraclius I (610–641).

Disposition:

Schottle, Gustav. *Ein goldmünzen Fund von weltgeschichtlichen Folge*. *Berliner Münzblätter*, XXXIII, 1912, p. 411–416, pl. 38–39.

Magnum Bullarium Romanum. Luxemburg, 1742. Vol. II, p. 664 ff.

Rome (House of Vestals), Italy, 1882.

Burial—

824 Æ 1 AV

Theophilus (829–842), 1 AV; found with Anglo-Saxon of 10th cent. in terracotta vase.

74 BYZANTINE COIN HOARDS

Disposition:

Revue archéologique, 1884, p. 84.

Rosendal, Gotland, Sweden

Burial— 53 whole 12 broken \mathfrak{A}

Byzantine, 1 whole, 2 broken; Western European, 145 whole, 2 broken; Cufic, 7 whole, 8 broken. Latest of 990/1 A.D.

Disposition:

Vasmer, R. R. Kungl. Vitterhets och Antikvitets Akademien Handlingar, Del 40:2, Stockholm, 1929. p. 38–39.

Markow, A. K. Topografija kladow wostocnych monet. St. Petersburg, 1910, p. 83, no. 193.

Rovalds, Vänge, Gotland, Sweden.

Burial— 9 \mathfrak{A}

Theodosius II (408–450), 1; Zeno, 2; Anastasius, 4; Justinian (527–565), 2. All solidi.

Disposition: National Museum, Stockholm.

Bolin, S. Fynden av romerska mynt i det fria Germanien. Lund, 1926. Bilagor I, p. 138.

Acta Archaeologica, II, 1931, p. 22, 25–26.

Janse, O. Le travail de l'or en Suede a l'epoque merovingienne. Orleans, 1922. p. 60, Nos. 169–173.

Sabratha, Africa, 1929?

Burial— 326 \mathfrak{A}

Byzantine, 326. Found in course of Excavations.

Disposition:

Guidi, G. Il teatro romano di Sabratha. (In Africa Italiana, III, 1930, p. 4.)

Sadovetz, Bulgaria, 1934.

Burial— 54 \mathfrak{A} 50 \mathfrak{A}

Justinian I (527–565), 8 sol., 2 trem.; Justin II, 17

sol., 5 trem.; Tiberius II, 7 sol., 1 sem., 8 trem.; Maurice Tiberius (582–602), 5 sol., 1 trem.; 50 bronze of Justinian I, Justin II w. Sophia, and Maurice Tiberius.

Disposition: Sofia.

Note by Th. Gerassimov.

Numismatist, vol. 47, 1934, p. 394.

N. Y. Times, March 29, 1934.

Salo, Haliko, Finland, 1686.

Burial—

Æ

Byzantine, Anglo-Saxon, German, and Cufic.

Disposition:

Hildebrand, B. E. Anglosachsiska mynt i svenska Kgl. Myntkabinett. Stockholm, 1846. p. lxxi.

Saltholmsgaard, Bornholm, Denmark, 1882.

Burial—

29 A

Valentinian III (425–455), 3 (2 barbaric); Libius Severus, 3; Glycerius, 1; Theodosius II, 9; Marcianus, 1; Leo I, 5; Zeno, 5; Leontius I, 1; Anastasius (491–518), 1.

Disposition:

Aarboeger foer Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, 1894, p. 347, no. 169.

Bolin, S. Fynden av romerska mynt i det fria Germanien. Lund, 1926. Bilagor I, p. 145.

Samocov, Sofia, Bulgaria, 1906.

Burial—

600 Æ

Byzantine pot hoard.

Disposition:

Mouchmov, N. A. Bull. soc. arch. bulgare, IV, 1914, p. 273, note 44. (Bulgarian text.)

Sane, Tallinn, Estonia.

Burial— 15 **Æ**
Byzantine, 2; Cufic (latest of 936 A.D.), 13 dirhems.
Disposition: Dorpat Museum.

Vasmer, R. R. Communications of the State Acad. for History of Material Culture, Leningrad, I, 1926, p. 292.

St. George (Cape of), Crimea, Russia, 1856.

Burial— 30 Æ
 Basil I (867–886); Basil I w. Constantine; Leo VI; Leo VI w. Alexander; Romanus I; Constantine VII; Constantine VII w. Romanus II; Romanus II; Romanus II w. Basil II; Nicephorus II Phocas; John Zimisce; Basil II (975–1025).

Disposition:

Robert, Ch. Rev. Num., 1859, p. 40-47. illus.

Sant'Antioco, Sardinia.

Burial—1200 *AV*
Byzantine.

Disposition: Dispersed.

Archivio Storico Sardo, III, 1907, p. 26, note (1).

Riv. Ital. Num., 1915, p. 77.

Saphafar Monastery, Tiflis, Transcaucasia, c.1890.

Burial—	+12 \mathcal{A}
Nicephorus III Botoniates (1078–1081), 12.	

Disposition: Soc. for the support of education
among Georgians in Tiflis, acq. 12.

Pachomov, E. A. Travaux Soc. Scient. d'Azerbaidjan,
Liv. 3, Baku, 1926. p. 49, no. 96.

Vasmer, R. R. Zeit. f. Num., XXXVI, 1926, p. 277, note 8.

Zapiski obshchestva liubitelei kawkazskoi archeologii, I,
p. 184.

Saqqara Excavations (Monastery of Offa), Egypt, 1908-10.

Burial— Not a hoard. 721 Æ

Ptolemaic, 6; Roman, 41; Byzantine M Folles (Anastasius, 6; Justin I, 2; Anastasius or Justin I, 3; Justinian I, 3; Justin II, 1; Tiberius II, 1; Maurice Tiberius, 1; Phocas, 1; Constans II, 1), 19; IB Folles (Justinian I, 4; Justin II, 5; Tiberius II, 6; Maurice Tiberius, 5; Phocas, 8; Maurice or Phocas, 2; late 6th cent., 36), 67; Heraclius IB, 127; Arabic, 221; Illegible, 231; Doubtful Byzantine, 9.

Disposition:

Quibell, J. E. Excavations at Saqqara, 1908/9, 1909/10. Cairo, 1912. p. 37-42.

Sardis (Anc.), Asia Minor, 1910-14.

Burial— c.615 A.D. 216 Æ

Justin II w. Sophia (565-578), 5; Maurice Tiberius, 6; Phocas, 2; Heraclius I, 104; Heraclius I w. Heraclius Constantine (613-641), 99. Hoard found in course of Excavations.

Disposition: Constantinople.

Bell, H. W. Sardis. Publication of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis. Vol. XI, Coins, Part I, 1910-14. Leyden, 1916. p. viii-ix, p. 78-94.

Sarre (near Reculver), Kent, England, 1860.

Burial— 4 Æ

Pseudo-Byzantine of types of Maurice Tiberius (582-602), 2; Heraclius (610-641), 1; Frankish of Clothaire II (584-629), 1.

Disposition:

De Salis, J. W. F. On some looped coins found with Anglo-Saxon ornaments in Kent. Num. Chron., 1861, p. 58-59. pl.

Satu-Nou, Tulcea, Rumania, 1912.

Burial— 25 Æ

Justinian I (527–565).

Disposition:

Moisil, Const. Bul. Soc. Num. Rom., VI, 1914, p. 55.

Schwaan, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Germany, 1859.

Burial— c. 1025. 868 whole 2396 broken Æ

Western European, 845 whole, 2395 broken;

Byzantine, 1 broken; Russian, 1; Cufic, 22.

Disposition:

Markow, A. K. Topografija kladow wostocnych monet. St. Petersburg, 1910. p. 133, no. 10.

Vasmer, R. R. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, Del 40: 2, Stockholm, 1929. p. 40–41.

Dannenburg, H. Die deutschen Münzen der sächsischen und frankischen Kaiserzeit. Berlin, 1876–1905, p. 49.

Izvestia Russ. Acad. Hist. of Material Culture, V, p. 311.

Selinti, Adana Vilayet (Turkey), Asia Minor.

Burial— 7 AV

Justin II, 565–578 (Wroth XI, 1; B) 1 sol., (Wroth XI, 5) 1 trem.; Maurice Tiberius, 582–602 (Wroth XVII, 3; A, B, Γ, H), 5 sol. Somewhat worn.

Disposition: Constantinople.

Note by Dr. Kurt Regling.

Sessa Aurunca, Italy.

Burial— 553 A.D. 2000 Æ 2 AV

Justinian I (527–565), 1 sol., 1 trem., 68 Æ; Athalaric, 11; Theodahad, 6; Eraric, 1; Baduila (541–552), 93.

Disposition:

Levi, Alda. Not. Scav., 1919, p. 356–358.

A. J. A., XXV, 1921, p. 101.

Settimo, Sardinia, 1842.

Burial—

AV

Marcianus (450–457); Phocas; Heraclius; Tiberius (659–668).

Disposition:

Bull. arch. sardo, IV, 1858, p. 59.

Sguerly, see Izgherli

Sierpov (near Lenczyca), Poland, 1823.

Burial—

Byzantine, Anglo-Saxon, and German.

Disposition:

Hildebrand, B. E. Anglosachsiska mynt i svenska Kgl. Myntkabinett. Stockholm, 1846. p. lxxvii.

Sigsarve, Gotland, Sweden, 1918.

Burial—

398.67 grm. *Æ*

Arabic, 727; Anglo-Saxon, 288; German, 217; Danish, 7; Bohemian, 4; Byzantine, 20; Found with silver jewelry. Latest coin, 1006 A.D.

Disposition: Historical Museum, Stockholm.

Blätter für Münzfreunde, Jhg. 54, 1919, p. 514.

Fornvännen, XIV, 1919, Statens Historiska Museum och K. Myntkabinett, Tillväxten, p. 6.

Smekalovka, Batum, Transcaucasia

Burial—

4 *AV*

Justinian I (527–565) (Mint of Constantinople).

Disposition:

Pachomov, E. A. Travaux Soc. Scient. d'Azerbaidjan, Livr. 3, Baku, 1926. p. 42, no. 52.

Smyrna (near), Asia Minor, 1840.

Burial—

c.1000 *AV*

Theodore II Ducas Lascaris (1254–1258), 7; Michael VIII Palaeologus, 7; Remainder of John II Comnenus, 1118–1143 (deSaulcy, pl. xxvii, 2).

Disposition: H. P. Borrell.

Borrell, H. P. Num. Chron., IV, 1841, p. 15–22.

Snäkarve, Gotland, Sweden, 1918.

Burial— 485 \mathfrak{A}

Arabic, 441; German, 13; Anglo-Saxon, 1; Byzantine, $\frac{1}{2}$.

Disposition: Historical Museum, Stockholm.

Fornvännen, XIV, 1919. Statens Historiska Museum och K. Myntkabinett, Tillväxten, p. 18.

Sobachii Gorb, Novgarad, Russia, 1906.

Burial— c.1050 A.D. c.336 \mathfrak{A}

Arabic (struck before 1009 A.D.), 267; John I Zimisces (969–976), 1; Basil II w. Constantine VIII (976–1025), 1; Anglo-Saxon (978–1040), 23; Danish, 1; Bohemian, 1; German of 10th—11th cent., 42.

Disposition: Hermitage, Leningrad.

Baur, N. Zeit. f. Num., XXXIX, 1929, p. 127–131.

Otchet Imp. Arch. Comm., 1906, p. 117–118.

Vasmer, R. R. Communications of the State Acad. for Hist. of Material Culture, I, Leningrad, 1926, p. 291.

Vasmer, R. R. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, Del 40: 2, Stockholm, 1929, p. 32–33.

Sofia, Bulgaria, 1897.

Burial— c.1100 A.D. 35 \mathfrak{A} 171 \mathfrak{A}

Romanus III Argyrus (1028–1034), Constantine IX Monomachus, Constantine X Ducas, Eudoxia with sons, Romanus IV with Eudocia and sons, Nicephorus III Botaniates, Alexius I Comnenus, 35 \mathfrak{A} ; Michael

VII Ducas, Nicephorus Botaniates, Alexius I Comnenus (1081–1113), 171 \mathfrak{A} .

Disposition:

Comptes-rendus Acad. inscr. et belles-lettres, 1897, p. 303.

Rev. Num., 1898, p. 128.

Gazette numismatique, II, 1897, p. 32.

Sofia, Bulgaria, 1910.

Burial— 5 \mathfrak{A}

Anastasius II (713–716), 1; John Zimisces (969–976), 2; Unidentified, 3.

Disposition:

Filow, B. Bull. soc. arch. bulgare, II, 1911, p. 268. (Bulgarian text.)

Sofia, Bulgaria, 1929.

Burial— 20 \mathfrak{A}

Anastasius I (491–518), 9; Justin I (518–527), 9; same period, 2; found with bronze ring.

Disposition:

Mouchmov, N. A. Bull. inst. arch. bulgare, VI, 1929–30, p. 314. (Bulgarian text.)

Soldatergaard, Bornholm, Denmark, 1850.

Burial— 35 \mathfrak{A}

Solidi of Honorius (395–423), 1; Valentinian III, 5; Livius Severus, 1; Anthemius, 1; Julius Nepos, 1; Theodosius II, 7; Leo I, 8; Zeno, 6; Basiliscus, 1; Basiliscus w. Marcus, 1; Anastasius (491–518), 3.

Disposition:

Kongelige Nordiske Oldskrift Selskab. Antiquarisk Tidsskrift, 1850, p. 122.

Montelius, O. Från järnåldern, Stockholm, 1868, no. 227.

Aarboeger foer Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, 1894 p. 347, no. 170.

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Bolin, S. *Fynden av Romerska mynt i det Fria Germanien*, Bilagor I, p. 145. Lund, 1926.

Spagergaard, Bornholm, Denmark, 1860.

Burial— 7 *Æ*

Valentinian III (425–455), 1 sol.; Theodosius II, 1;
Leo I, 2; Zeno, 2; Anastasius I (491–518), 1.

Disposition:

Montelius, O. *Från järnåldern*. Stockholm, 1868.
No. 222.

Aarboeger *foer Nordisk Oldkyndighed og historie*, 1894,
p. 347, No. 168.

Bolin, S. *Fynden av romerska mynt i det fria Germanien*. Lund, 1926. Bilagor I, p. 146.

Spanko (Spankovo), Peterhof, Russia, 1913.

Burial— c.1120 A.D. +1850 *Æ*

Basil II w. Constantine VIII (976–1025), 1 whole,
1 broken. Found with Arabic, Anglo-Saxon, and
German of 10th—11th cent.

Disposition: Hermitage acq. 1850.

Baur, N. *Zeit. f. Num.*, XXXIX, 1929, p. 75–78.

Otchet Imp. Arch. Comm., 1913–1915, p. 180 & 260.

Vasmer, R. R. *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, Del 40:2, Stockholm, 1929, p. 42–43.

Spaski, Krolevetz, Russia, 1879.

Burial— 5 *Æ*

John II Comnenus (1118–1143); Manuel I Comnenus (1143–1180).

Disposition: Commission archéologique.

Stroganoff, S. *Comptes-rendus Commiss. imper. arch.*, 1878–79, p. lxvii.

Trudy of 5th Arch. Convention, Tiflis, p. 250.

Srbovo, Yugoslavia.

Burial—

Æ

Byzantine of time of Manuel I.

Disposition:

Saria, Baldwin. Numismatischer Bericht aus Jugoslawien. Num. Zeit., LX, 1927, p. 15.

Staraja Ladoga, Leningrad Province, Russia, 1920.

(South-west from Rurik Fortress)

Burial—

+64 Æ

Basil II w. Constantine VIII (976–1025), 1 broken; Cufic (Latest, 976 A.D.), 11 whole, 45 broken; Western European, 6 whole, 1 broken; found with 2 Æ bars.

Disposition: State Acad. for History of Material Culture, Leningrad.

Vasmer, R. Transactions of the State Acad. for Hist. of Material Culture, I, Leningrad, 1926, p. 291.

Saryi Dedin, Mohilev, Klimovitchi, Russia, 1926.

Burial— c.980 A.D.

201 Æ

John I Zimisce, 969–976 (Wroth, pl. LIV, No. 13), 1; German, 2; Cufic, 198.

Disposition: Minsk Museum.

Vasmer, R. Ein im Dorfe Saryi Dedin in Weissrussland gemachter Fund kufischer Münzen. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, Del 40: 2. Stockholm, 1929.

Stige, Jndal, Sweden, 1903.

Burial

3000 Æ

Anglo-Saxon of 2nd half of 9th century, Byzantine, German of Otto I to Otto III, Arabic, coins with Runic characters, and silver bars.

Disposition:

Mitteil. d. Klubs d. Münz- u. Medaillenfreunde in Wien, 1903, p. 105.

Blätter für Münzfreunde, 1903, col. 3015.
Frankfurter Zeitung, Sept. 12, 1903.

Stolpe, Hinterpommern, Germany, 1847.

Burial— 1002 A.D. +80 \mathfrak{R}

Constantine VII w. Romanus II (945–959), 1 broken;
Nicephorus II Phocas, 1 broken; John I Zimisces, 1
broken; Basil II w. Constantine VIII (975–1025);
with Arabic (804–915), German (962–996), Italian,
Burgundian (963–1001), and English (959–1016).

Disposition:

Dannenberg, H. *Mem. de la Soc. d'arch. et de Num.*
de St. Petersburg, II, 1848, p. 96–109.

Stora Sojdeby, Gotland, Sweden, 1900.

Burial— c.1100 A.D. 2308 \mathfrak{R}

Constantine VII w. Romanus II (945–959), 1;
Nicephorus II Phocas (963–969), 2; Basil II w.
Constantine VIII (976–1025), 3; German, 1376;
English, 801; Arabic, 28; Irish, 10; Hungarian, 3;
Swedish, 2; Bohemian, 1; Italian, 1.

Disposition: Historical Museum, Stockholm.

Schnittger, Bror. *Fornvännen*, X, 1915, p. 53–116, 189–
246, 2 pls. German summary, p. 250–254.

Vasmer, R. R. *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antik-*
vitets Akademiens Handlingar, Del 40: 2, Stockholm, 1929,
p. 38–39.

Strømsborg, Norway, 1826.

Burial— 14 \mathfrak{A}

Romanus I w. Christophorus, 921–931 (Wroth, pl.
LIII, 1); Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus w.
Romanus II, 945–959 (Wroth, pl. LIII, 12–14)

Disposition: Oslo University acq. 2; Bergen
Museum, 2.

Rygh, O. *Aarboeger foer Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1877, p. 120.

Holst, H. *Symbolae Osloenses*, fasc. VII, 1929, p. 89–90.

Suderbys, Gotland, Sweden.

Burial— 44 whole 132 broken Æ
Byzantine, 2 broken; Western European, 27 whole,
6 broken; Cufic, 17 whole, 124 broken. Latest of
1000 A.D.

Disposition: Historical Museum, Stockholm.

Vasmer, R. R. *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, Del 40: 2, Stockholm, 1929, p. 38–39.

Markow, A. K. *Topografija kladow wostocnych monet*. St. Petersburg, 1910. p. 84, no. 204.

Sungurlu, Corum Vilayet (Turkey), Asia Minor.

Burial— 11 A
Theophilus w. Michael II and Constantine, 832?–839? (Wroth XLVIII, 16; X, A, Θ, 1Θ), 8 sol.; Michael III (Wroth XLIX, 17), 1 sol.; Theodora w. Michael III and Thecla (Wroth XLIX, 15), 1 sol.; Michael III w. Theodora, 852?–856 (Wroth XLIX, 16), 1 sol.

Disposition: Constantinople.

Note by Dr. Kurt Regling.

Svenborg, Fyn, Denmark.

Burial— 7 A
Valentinian III (425–455), 1; Majorianus, 1; Leo I, 2; Zeno, 2; Anastasius (491–518), 2; found with gold ring.

Disposition: Copenhagen.

Aarboeger foer Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, 1894, p. 345, No. 147.

Manadsblad, 1872, p. 74.

86 BYZANTINE COIN HOARDS

Montelius, O. Från Järnåldern. Stockholm, 1868.
p. 26, No. 229.

Syracuse, Sicily, 1896.

Burial— Æ?

Roman imperial with Byzantine.

Disposition:

Gazette num. fran., I, 1897, p. 125.

Szegedin, Hungary.

Burial— 640 A

• Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine (610–641).

Disposition:

Arch. Ertesito, 1903, p. 273.

Zeit. f. Num., XXV, 1906, Jb. p. 26.

Talings, Gotland, Sweden.

Burial— 53 Æ

Byzantine, 1; Western European, 44; Cufic, 8.

Latest coin, Cufic of 934 A.D.

Disposition: Historical Museum, Stockholm.

Vasmer, R. R. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, Del 40:2, Stockholm, 1929. p. 36–37.

Markow, A. K. Topografija kladow wostocnych monet. St. Petersburg, 1910. p. 62, no. 18.

Tanagra (Ancient), Greece, 1924.

Burial— 25 Æ

Anonymous of John I Zimisces (969–976) and successors.

Disposition: National Museum, Athens.

Bull. corr. hell., 1924, p. 451.

Rev. Num., 1926, p. 107.

Taram, Bulgaria, 1902.

Burial— 28 A

Byzantine pot hoard.

Disposition:

Mouchmov, N. A. Bull. soc. arch. bulgare, IV, 1914,
p. 272, note 28. (Bulgarian text.)

Tchenghe, Bulgaria, 1924.

Burial—

20 *AV*

Justinian I, 1.

Disposition:

Mouchmov, N. A. Bull. inst. arch. bulgare, III, 1925,
p. 254. (Bulgarian text.)

Tell Atrib, Egypt, 1906?

Burial—

Byzantine.

Disposition:

Arch. Anz., 1907, p. 160.

Teremia-Mare, Rumania, 1903.

Burial—

130 *Æ*

John II Comnenus (1118–1143), 37; Manuel I
Comnenus (1143–1180), 14; Remainder illegible.

Disposition:

Bul. Soc. Num. Rom., XV, 1920, p. 80.

Numiz. Közlöny, 1908, p. 171.

Thasos (Dionysios), 1923.

Burial—

21 *Æ*

Heraclius (610–641). Hoard? found during excava-
tions of French School.

Disposition: National Museum, Athens.

Bull. corr. hell., 1923, p. 504.

Thuburbo Majus, Tunis, Africa.

Burial— 613–641 A.D.

150 *AV*

Heraclius w. Heraclius Constantine (613–641).

88 BYZANTINE COIN HOARDS

Disposition: Musée Alaoui au Bardo, Tunis.

Bull. arch. du comité, 1925, p. lxxix–lxxxiv.

Arch. Anz., 1931, p. 551.

Tiflis, Transcaucasia, 1904.

Burial— 700–800 \mathfrak{A}

Sassanian drachms of Hormazd IV (579–590) and Khusrau II (590–628); Byzantine of Heraclius I alone and with Heraclius Constantine (610–641).

Disposition:

Pachomov, E. A. Travaux Soc. Scient. d'Azerbaïdjan, Livr. 3, Baku, 1926. p. 43, no. 59.

Pachomov, E. A. Monnaies Georgiens, I, p. 30.

Tirnovο, Bulgaria, 1898.

Burial— 23 \mathfrak{A}

Byzantine.

Disposition:

Mouchmov, N. A. Bull. soc. arch. bulgare, IV, 1914, p. 271, note 20. (Bulgarian text).

Tirnovο, Bulgaria, 1912.

Burial— 10 \mathfrak{A} 2 \mathfrak{A}

Andronicus II w. Michael IX (1295–1320), 10 \mathfrak{A} ;

Bulgarian of Michael Shishman (1323–1330), 2 \mathfrak{A} .

Disposition: National museum, Sofia.

Filow, B. Arch. Anz., 1913, col. 363.

Tirnovο-Boruchtitza, Bulgaria, 1907.

Burial— 50 \mathfrak{A}

Comneni emperors, 11th cent.

Disposition:

Mouchmov, N. A. Bull. soc. arch. bulgare, IV, 1914, p. 273, note 47. (Bulgarian text.)

Toprak-Hissar, Bulgaria, 1920.

Burial— \mathfrak{A}

Isaac II Angelus (1185–1195); lead seal, 1.

Disposition: Société arch. Stara Zagora.

Mouchmov, N. A. Bull. soc. arch. bulgare, VII, 1919–20, p. 136. (Bulgarian text.)

Torontol, Hungary.

Burial— AV

Heraclius Constantine (613–641); Constans II; Constantine IV Pogonatus, Heraclius and Tiberius (668–680?).

Disposition:

Rev. Num., 1914, p. 260.

Numiz. Közlöny, 1914, p. 17, 18, 19.

Trebizond, Asia Minor. (1)

Burial— 13 AV

John II Comnenus, 1118–1143 (Wroth LXVIII, 1), 12 sol.; Manuel I, 1143–1180 (Wroth LXIX, 7), 1 sol. All in excellent condition.

Disposition: Constantinople.

Note by Dr. Kurt Regling.

Trebizond, Asia[•] Minor. (2)

Burial— 61 AR

John IV of Trebizond, 1446–1458 (Retowski, Der Komnenen von Trapezunt, p. 295, pl. XV), 61 aspers.

Disposition: Constantinople.

Note by Dr. Kurt Regling.

Trzebun (near Plotsk), Poland, 1824.

Burial— after 1040 A.D. c.2000 AR

Nicephorus II Phocas (964–969), Anglo-Saxon, German, Hungarian, and Polish.

Disposition:

Dannenberg, H. Die deutschen Münzen der sächsischen und frankischen Kaiserzeit. Berlin, 1876-1905. p. 51.

Hildebrand, B. E. Anglosachsiska mynt i Svenska Kgl. Myntkabinett. Stockholm, 1846. p. lxxvii.

Tschausch (near Seidi Shehr), Asia Minor.

Burial—

36 *AV*

Constans II, 641-668 (Wroth XXX, 14; Γ, Δ), 4 sol.; (Wroth XXX, 16; Γ, ς, Ζ, Θ), 5 sol.; (Wroth XXX, 17, 18; Α, Β, Γ, ς, € , Θ, Ι), 24 sol.; (Wroth XXX, 21; Α), 3 sol. All excellent to mint state.

Disposition: Constantinople.

Note by Dr. Kurt Regling.

Tureff, Posen, Germany, 1846.

Burial— 985 A.D.

c.80 *Æ* ?

Constantine VII w. Romanus II (945-959) with German (919-937), Norman (943-996), Italian (950-961) and Arabic.

Disposition:

Koehne, V. B. Memoires Soc. d'arch. et de num., St. Petersburg, V, 1851, p. 241-248.

Dannenberg, H. Die deutschen Münzen der sächsischen und frankischen Kaiserzeit. Berlin, 1876-1905. p. 42-43.

Unknown Locality.

Burial—

+200 *Æ*

Ostrogoth and Vandal with names and monograms of Odovacar (476-493), Theodoric, Theodahad, Witigis, Baduila (541-552), Anastasius (491-518), Hilderic, and Gelimer; also barbaric and uncertain.

Disposition:

Riv. ital. num., 1897, p. 22.

Unknown Locality, 1917.

Burial— 208 Æ

Alexius I (1081–1118), 1; Manuel I, 5; Isaac II, 143;
Alexius III (1195–1203), 59.

Disposition: Egger.

Kubitschek, W. Num. Zeit., LI, 1918, p. 55–62.
pl. IX.

Schindler, Leo. Mitteil. Num. Gesell. in Wien, XV,
1923, p. 229, 232.

Unknown Locality, Africa, 1909.

Burial— c.697 A.D. c.50 Ἀ

Heraclius (610–680); Constans II; Constantine IV
Pogonatus (668–685).

Disposition: Musée Alaoui au Bardo, Tunis, acq.
15.

Bull. arch. du comité, 1909, p. clxxv; 1925, p. lxxxiii.

Unknown Locality, Asia Minor. (1)

Burial— 360 Ἀ

Justinian I, 527–565 (Wroth IV, 11; Θ) 1 sol.;
Maurice Tiberius (Wroth XVII, 3; B, Γ, ε), 3 sol.;
Phocas (Wroth XX, 4; AVGG or AUCU, B, Γ,
ε, S, Z, Θ, ι) 41 sol.; Heraclius I (Wroth XXIII,
2, 3; ε) 1 sol., (Wroth XXIII, 4–8; A, B, Γ, Δ, ε,
S, Z, H, Θ, BΘ, I, and uncertain) 68 sol., (Wroth
XXIII, 9; A, B, Δ, Z, Θ, I) 11 sol., (Wroth XXIII,
10; A, B, Γ, Δ, S, H, Θ or B?, I, and uncertain)
18 sol., (Wroth XXIII, 11, 12; A, B, Γ, Δ, ε, S, Z,
H, Θ, I), 44 sol.; Constans II (Wroth XXX, 12;
B, S, Θ) 5 sol., (Wroth XXX, 14, 15; B, Γ, Δ, Z,
H, Θ) 9 sol., (Wroth XXX, 16; A, B, Γ, Δ, ε, S,
Z, H, Θ, I) 39 sol., (Wroth XXX, 17, 18; A, B,
Γ, Δ, ε, H, Θ, I and uncertain) 21 sol., (Wroth XXX,
19, 20; A, B, Γ, S, H, Θ, I, Aq, Γ ω, Hφ) 21 sol.,

(Wroth XXXI, 1, 2; Z) 1 sol.; Constantine IV (Wroth XXXVI, 4; A, L, Δ, H, Θ) 8 sol., (Wroth XXXVI, 1-3; A, B, L, Δ, €̄, S, H, N, Θ and uncertain) 53 sol.; Justinian II, 685-695 (Wroth XXXVIII, 13, 14; Γ, Δ, €̄, H, Θ) 7 sol., (Wroth XXXVIII, 15, 16; €̄), 9 sol.

Disposition: Constantinople; transferred from Yildiz Palace.

Note by Dr. Kurt Regling.

Unknown Locality, Asia Minor. (2)

Burial— 112 *AV*

Justinian I (527-565), 3 sol.; Justin II, 9 sol.; Tiberius II Constantine, 2 sol.; Maurice Tiberius, 70 sol.; Phocas (602-610), 28 sol.

Disposition: Constantinople; transferred from Yildiz Palace.

Note by Dr. Kurt Regling.

Unknown Locality, Asia Minor. (3)

Burial— 17 *AV*

Constantine VIII, 1025-1028 (Wroth LVII, 9, 10), 2 sol.; Constantine IX (Wroth LIX, 1, 2), 2 sol.; Constantine X, 1059-1067 (Wroth LXI, 1), 13 sol.

Disposition: Constantinople; transferred from Yildiz Palace.

Note by Dr. Kurt Regling.

Unknown Locality, Asia Minor? (4)

Burial— c.1347 A.D. 26 *AR*

Andronicus III (1328-1341), 2; Andronicus III, Anna and John V, 7; Anna w. John V (1341-1347),

17. Disposition:

Bertele, T. *Atti e Mem. dell'Ist. Ital. Num.*, VI, 1930, p. 206-221, pls. XV-XVI.

Longuet, H. *Revue numismatique*, 1933, p. 135-148, pl. IX.

Unknown Locality, Asia Minor, 1924.

Burial—

80 *AV*

Manuel I Comnenus (1143-1180)

Disposition: John M. Wulfing.

Wulfing, John M. A hoard of eighty Byzantine coins. *Numismatist*, XXXIX, 1926, p. 49-54.

Unknown Locality, Egypt, 1908-09.

Burial—

AV

(1) Pectoral containing medallion of Valentinian III and coins as follows: Anthemius, 5 sol.; Basiliscus, 1 sol.; Justinian I, 2 sol., 2 trem.; Theodosius I, 1 sol.; Theodosius II, 2 sol. (2) Large framed medallion of Theodosius I. (3) Pectoral containing large imitation Roman medallion and following coins: Justin II, 3 sem., 2 trem.; Maurice Tiberius, 2 sem.; 3 trem.; Justinian I, 1 trem.; Tiberius II Constantine, 1 sem.; coin of Maurice Tiberius or Justin II. (4) Small gold medallion consisting of a solidus of Justinian I enclosed in a gold frame. (5) Small gold medallion consisting of solidus of Justin set in gold frame. (6) Solidus of Justinian I set in gold frame with pendants. Found with numerous other objects of jewelry.

Disposition: Freer Collection, Berlin Antiquarium, J. P. Morgan Collection in Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Dennison, W. and Morey, C. R. *Studies in East Christian and Roman art*. New York, 1918. Pls.

Burial— 358 *R*

Disposition:

Urbitz, Bulgaria, 1924.

Burial— 906 Æ

Manuel I Comnenus (1143–1180); Andronicus I Comnenus; Isaac II Angelus; Alexius III Comnenus (1195–1203).

Disposition:

Mouchmov, N. A. Bull. inst. arch. bulgare, III, 1925, p. 255. (Bulgarian text.)

Varna, Bulgaria, 1909.

Burial—Æ

Time of Justinian (527–565).

Disposition:

Riv. ital. num., XXII, 1909, p. 321.

Vaskovo, Velikije Luki, Russia, 1923.

Burial— 1015 A.D. 373 whole 4443 broken & Romanus I (920–944), 1 broken; Nicephorus Phocas, 1; John I Zimisces, 1; Basil II w. Constantine VIII (976–1025), 2; found with Anglo-Saxon, Danish, Italian, Bohemian, and German coins of 10th—11th century.

Disposition: The Hermitage, Leningrad.

Baur, N. Zeit. f. Num., 1924-25, p. 280; 1929, p. 140-146.

Vasmer, R. R. *Communications of Acad. for hist. of material culture*, Leningrad, I, 1926, p. 290.

Vasmer, R. R. *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, Del 40:2, Stockholm, 1929, p. 32-33.

Protokolle der Numismatischen Sektion in der archaologischen Akademie in Leningrad, 187.

Velsen, Netherlands.

Burial— 17 *AV*

Justin I (518-527), 3 sol.; Justinian I (527-565), 2 sol.; imitations of Justinian, 6 sol.; Overstruck, 6 sol.

Disposition:

Pleyte, W. *Nederlandsche oudheden van de vroegste tijden tot op Karel den Groote*. Leiden, 1877-1901. Westfriesland, p. 15-16.

Bolin, S. *Fynden av Romerska mynt i det fria Germanien*. Lund, 1926. Bilagor I, p. 13.

Vidin, Bulgaria, 1896.

Burial— 21 *AV*

Byzantine, 7; Turkish, 14.

Disposition:

Mouchmov, N. A. *Bull. soc. arch. bulgare*, IV, 1914, p. 271, note 16. (Bulgarian text.)

Visby, Gotland, Sweden.

Burial— c.1650 *Æ*

Byzantine, 21; Western European, 1244; Cufic, 324 whole, 60 broken. Latest coin of 1005/6 A.D.

Disposition: Historical Museum, Stockholm.

Vasmer, R. R. *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, Del 40:2, Stockholm, 1929. p. 38-39.

Markow, A. K. *Topografija kladow wostocnych monet*. St. Petersburg, 1910. p. 82, no. 185.

Viviers, Ardèche, France.

Burial— Soon after 527 A.D. c.1000 *AV*
 One-sixth of find consisted of imitations (?) of: Theodosius II (408–450), 3; Leo I, 19; Zeno, 18; Anastasius, 46; Justin I, 18; Justinian I (527–565), 9. Hoard also contained coins of Honorius (395–423), Marcianus, and Basiliscus.

Disposition: Dr. J. Chazalon acq. 150.

Vassy, A. Note sur la trouvaille de monnaies d'or de Viviers. Rhodania, Congres d'Aubenas et de Vals-les-Bains, 1927, no. 1241.

Blanchet, A. Rev. Num., 1929, p. 110–111; 1932, p. 116.

Journal des Debats, Dec. 14, 1926.

Vollia, Lifland, Estonia, 1903.

Burial— Early 11th cent. A.D. c.300 *Æ*
 Byzantine, 123 (including a double milliarensis of Basil II w. Constantine VIII, 976–1025); Cufic, 39; Western European, 136.

Disposition: Imp. Arch. Commiss., St. Petersburg.

Pachomov, E. A. Travaux Soc. Scient. d'Azerbaidjan, Livr. 3, Baku, 1926. p. 77, No. 257.

Izvestia imp. arch. commiss., XVII, p. 136.

Vasmer, R. R. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, Del 40:2, Stockholm, 1929, p. 42–43.

Frank, H. Die baltisch-arabischen Fundmünzen. (Mitteil. aus dem Gebiete der Gesch. Liv-, Est- und Kurlands, XVIII, Riga, 1908) p. 394.

Volo, Thessaly, 1907.

Burial— c.3489
 Byzantine

Disposition: Greek government.

Blätter für Münzfreunde, 1907, p. 3767.

Rev. Num., 1908, p. 126. (Quoting above.)

Vörden, Hörter, Germany, 1931.

BYZANTINE COIN HOARDS 97

- Burial— 21
Roman and Byzantine.
Disposition:
Rom. German. Kommission, 21. Bericht, 1931, p. 180.
- Vucovo, Bulgaria, 1898.**
Burial— 5 kilo. Æ
Byzantine.
Disposition:
Mouchmov, N. A. Bull. soc. arch. bulgare, IV, 1914,
p. 273, note 21. (Bulgarian text.)
- Waalse, Falster, Denmark, 1835.**
Burial— 990–1000 A.D. 525 Æ
Constantine VII w. Romanus II (945–959), 1; West-
ern European, 364; Cufic, 160.
Disposition:
Hildebrand, B. E. Anglosachsiska mynt i svenska Kgl.
Myntkabinett, Stockholm, 1846. p. lxxx.
Vasmer, R. R. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antik-
vitets Akademiens Handlingar, Del 40:2, Stockholm,
1929. p. 40–41.
Markow, A. K. Topografija kladow wostocnych monet.
St. Petersburg, 1910. p. 103, no. 12.
Annaler for nordisk Oldkyndighed, 1842–43, p. 33.
Dannenberg, H. Die deutschen Münzen der sächs-
ischen und frankischen Kaiserzeit. Berlin, 1876–1905.
p. 44.
- Wendfelde, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Germany, 1837.**
Burial— 25 Æ
Constantine VII w. Romanus II (945–969), Anglo-
Saxon, and German.
Disposition:
Hildebrand, B. E. Anglosachsiska mynt i svenska Kgl.
Myntkabinett. Stockholm, 1846. p. lxxv.
- Wible, Gotland, Sweden, 1739.**

Burial—

Byzantine, Anglo-Saxon, German, and Cufic.

Disposition:

Hildebrand, B. E. *Anglosachsiska mynt i svenska Kgl. Myntkabinett*. Stockholm, 1846. p. L.

Wieuwerd, Friesland, Netherlands, 1866.

Burial— c.612 A.D. 39 *AV*

Merovingian (558–628), 12; Anastasius (491–518), 1 sol.; Justin I, 2 trem.; Justinian I, 4 sol.; Justin II, 1 sol.; Tiberius Constantine, 1 sol.; Phocas, 2 sol.; Heraclius I w. Heraclius Constantine (630–640), 2 sol.; barbaric imitations, 2 sol. Found with ten objects of jewelry.

Disposition: M. le Chevalier Hooft van Iddekinge.

Dirks, J. *Rev. Num. Belge*, 1867, p. 149–163.

Jahrbücher d. Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande, Bonn, XLIII, 1867, p. 57–91. pl. VI.

Congres Internat. de Num., Bruxelles, 1891, p. 364–366.

Pleyte, W. *Nederlandsche Oudheden van de vroegste tijden tot op Karel den Groote*. Leiden, 1877–1901. Friesland, p. 72.

Bolin, S. *Fynden av romerska mynt i det fria Germanien*, Lund, 1926. Bilagor I, p. 18.

Winzig, Niederschlesien, Germany, 1899.

Burial— Soon after 1025 A.D. 452 grm. *Æ*

Commodus (180–192), 1; Cufic (907–991), 4 broken; Basil II w. Constantine VIII (976–1025), 1; Bohemian (936–1002), 9 broken; English (978–1016), 3 whole, 5 broken; Danish, 1 broken; German (936–1024), 79 whole, 6 broken.

Disposition:

Bahrfeldt, Emil. *Berliner Münzblätter*, 1901, cols. 3049–3051.

Wölla, see Vollia

Yalivadj (near), Antiochia Pisidiae, Asia Minor, 1924.

Burial— ± 35 *AV*

Zeno (477–491), 1 sol.; Phocas, 12 sol.; Heraclius I w.
Heraclonas, 1 sol.; Heraclius I, 4 sol.; Basil II w.
Constantine VIII (976–1025), 2 sol.

Disposition: Prof. D. M. Robinson acq. 19.

Note by Prof. David M. Robinson.

Zagalu, Novobaiazet, Erivan, Transcaucasia, 190–.

Burial— 6 *AV*

Romanus IV (1068–1070), 1; Remainder unknown.

Disposition: University of Kharkov.

Pachomov, E. A. Travaux Soc. Scient. d'Azerbaidjan,
Livr. 3, Baku, 1926. p. 49, no. 94.

Izvestia Imp. Arch. Comm., Addenda to vol. VI.

Zalesche, Kreis Gr.-Strehlitz, Germany, 1919.

Burial— +100 *Æ*

Byzantine.

Disposition:

Blätter für Münzfreunde, Jhg. 54, 1919, p. 530.

Oberschles. Zeitung, May 6, 1919.

Zaschowitz, Moravia, Austria.

Burial— 4 *AV*

Zeno (479–491), 2; Anastasius, 1; Justinian I (527–565), 1.

Disposition:

Bolin, S. Fynden av romerska mynt i det fria Germanien, Bilagor I, p. 117. Lund, 1926.

Mitteil. K. K. Zentralkomm. für Denkmalpflege, 1900, p. 56.

Cervinka. Morava za praveku, III, 1895, p. 292.

Zatschepilovo, Poltawa, Russia, 1928.

Burial—

7 *AV*

Byzantine solidi contemporary with those of Pereschtschepino find (582–646).

Disposition:

Frankfurter Münzzeitung, 1931, p. 228.

Zeccone, Lombardia, Italy.

Burial—

20 *AV*

Solidi of Anastasius (491–518); Justinian I (527–566); one from mint of Milan of the time of Theodoric.

Disposition:

Cesano, L. Atti e Mem. dell'Ist. Ital. Num., V, p. 161.

Brambilla, Altre Annotazione Numismatiche, 1870, p. 62sq.

Zgurigrad, Bulgaria, 1928.

Burial—

12 *Æ*

Alexius I Comnenus (1081–1118), 2; John II Comnenus, 1; Manuel I Comnenus, 2; Isaac II Angelus (1185–1195), 7. Found in Placalnitza copper mine.

Disposition: Sofia.

Mouchmov, N. A. Bull. Inst. arch. bulgare, V, 1928–29, p. 385. (Bulgarian text.)

Zimnicem, Teleorman, Rumania.

Burial—

2000 *Æ* scyphate

Comneni emperors.

Disposition:

Moisil, Const. Bul. Soc. Num. Rom., X, 1913, p. 21.

Bolliac. Trompeta Carpatilor, 1869, no. 699.

Zlataritza, Bulgaria, 1910.

Burial—

470 *Æ*

Manuel I Comnenus (1143–1180); Andronicus I Comnenus (1184–1185). Pot hoard.

Disposition: Sofia.

Filow, B. Bull. soc. arch. bulgare, II, 1911, p. 278–280. (Bulgarian text.)

Filow, B. Arch. Anz., 1912, p. 576.

Zlataritza, Bulgaria, 1923.

Burial— 400 Æ

Manuel I Comnenus (1143–1180), 12; Andronicus I Comnenus, 5; Isaac II Angelus (1185–1204), 113.

Disposition: Sofia acq. 18; remainder dispersed.

Mouchmov, N. A. Bull. inst. arch. bulgare, II, 1923–24, p. 230. (Bulgarian text.)

INDEX OF EMPERORS

- Alexius I Comnenus**, 1081–1118. Balabur; Batcun; Bucharest, 1920; Corinth Excavations; Corinth, 1934 (2); Dempozike; Granitza; Hissar; Isaccea; Izgherli; Kalipetrovo; Makri; Nemet-Csernya; Preslav, 1927; Sofia, 1897; Unknown locality, 1917; Zgurigrad.
- Alexius III Angelus**, 1195–1203. Amorgos; Brusa; Corinth Excavations; Gonia; Pergamum; Pergamum Excavations; Postallar; Preslav, 1927; Priene Excavations; Unknown locality, 1917; Urbitza.
- Alexius IV**, 1203–1204. Naousa.
- Anastasius I**, 491–518. Alaya; Alise-Saint-Reine; Akebäck; Almindingen; Aydin Vilayet; Benevento; Biesembrow; Bornholm; Bresin; Brzovitza; Caseburg; Chinon; Corinth Excavations; El Djem; Elsehoved; Ephesus; Escharen; Eskelhem; Etelhem; Finero; Frickingen; Friesland; Gourdon; Hyeres; Kaggeholm; Kapril di Sebenico; Khirbat Dubel; Klein Schelken; Mezzocammino; Mt. Castro dei Volsci; Monte Roduni; Nixdjup; Osetia; Padenge; Pergamum Excavations; Priene Excavations; Rovalds; Saltholmsgaard; Sofia, 1929; Soldatergaard; Spagergaard; Svenborg; Unknown locality; Viviers; Wieuwerd; Zaschowitz; Zeccone.
- Anastasius II**, 713–716. Anchialus; Sofia, 1910.
- Andronicus I Comnenus**, 1184–1185. Bania; Batcun; Caparelle; Corinth Excavations; Draganovo; Eremia; Granitza; Izgherli; Preslav, 1927; Rhodes, 1931; Urbitza; Zlataritza, 1910; Zlataritza, 1923.
- Andronicus II Palaeologus**, 1282–1328. Aglen; Carlovo; Draghijevo; Gherman; London; Opaca.
- Andronicus II and III**, 1325–1328. Pergamum Excavations.
- Andronicus II and Michael IX**, 1295–1320. Bela-Cerkva; Draganovo; Pergamum Excavations; Tirnovo.
- Andronicus III**, 1328–1341. Unknown locality, Asia Minor (4).
- Anonymous**. Ani; Pergamum Excavations; Tanagra.
- Arabic**. Alexanderhof; Allmanninge; Althofchen; Antinoe (2); Bjarby; Botels i Hafdems; Boters; Borovskaja; Broa; Broby; Caseburg; Clausholm; Denis; Digrans;

Djuped; Domerarve; Dorogobuz; Enges; Enner; Eskilstuna; Fole; Folhagen; Gereta; Gralow; Halsarve; Hogdarve; Hograns; Hon; Ilanz; Jarocin; Jervis; Katlunds; Korostowa; Kvarna; Lasarve; Leal; Lilla Klintegårda; Lilla Rone; Lilla Vadstade; Luurila; Mallgards; Maszenice; Mikolajevicy; Minsk; Molody; Munkegaard; Myrungs Farm; Nas; Norrqvie; Novyi Dvor; Nygards; Othem Co.; Oxarve; Oranienburg; Osterby; Ostjadra; Petes; Peuth; Polzin; Porecje; Porto Torres; Reno; Reval; Risungs; Rosendal; Salo; Sane; Schwaan; Sigsarve; Snakarve; Sobachii Gorb; Spanko; Staraia Lagoda; Staryi Dedin; Stige; Stolpe; Stora Sojdeby; Suderbys; Talings; Unknown locality, Sweden, 1711; Visby; Vollia; Waalse; Wible; Winzig.

Athalaric, 526-534. *Vandal*. Mt. Castro dei Volsci; Sessa.

Baduilla (Totila), 541-552. *Ostrogoth*. Mt. Castro dei Volsci; Sessa; Unknown locality.

Barbaric Imitations. Almindingen; Amorgos; Antinoe; Enner; Escharen; Etelhem; Friesland; Munningen; Sarre; Unknown locality; Wieuwerd.

Basil I, 867-886. Corinth Excavations; Porto Torres, Preslav, 1927; Reggio di Calabria; St. George (Cape of).

Basil I and Constantine, 869-879. St. George (Cape of).

Basil I, Constantine, and Leo VI, 870-879. Pergamum Excavations.

Basil II, 976-1025. Kalipetrovo; Preslav, 1927; St. George (Cape of).

Basil II and Constantine VIII, 976-1025. Allmänninge; Althöfchen; Borovskaja; Corinth Excavations; Dolhesti; Gerete; Högdarve; Hogräns; Kvarna; Larsarve; Lilla Klintegårda; Mgowo; Mikolajevicy; Molody; Myrungs; Näs; Norrqvie; Petes; Peuth; Priebrow; Risungs; Sobachii Gorb; Spanko; Staraia Lagoda; Stolpe; Stora Sojdeby; Vaskovo; Vollia; Winzig; Yalivadj.

Beneventum. Reno.

Byzantine (with no indication of rulers represented). Alexandropol; Biisk; Bjärby; Bou-Arada; Broa; Campobello; Carthage, 1872; Carthage, 1898?; Caseburg; Clausholm; Denis; Digrans; Divdedovo; Djebel-Derhafla; Djuped; Dorogobuz; Dzansul; Enges; Filipovtzi; Fole; Fölhagen; Gornia Bania; Hotnitza; Jervis; Katlunds; Korostowo; Lapithos; Lilla Rone; Lilla

- Vadstäde; Luurila; Madara; Mtskhét; Myrungs Farm; Nygård; Olympia; Opize Monastery; Österby; Östjädra; Ozurget Co.; Porecje; Preslav; Prinkipo; Rachin Co.; Reval; Rosendal; Sabratha; Sadovetz; Salo; Samocov; Sane; Sant'Antioco; Schwaan; Sierpov; Sigsarve; Snakarve; Stige; Suderbys; Syracuse; Talings; Taram; Tell Atrib; Tirnovo, 1898; Unknown locality, Sweden, 1711; Vidin; Visby; Vollia; Volo; Vörden; Vucovo; Wible; Zalesche; Zatschepilovo.
- Comneni Dynasty**, 11th Century. Botevo; Caparelli; Cartal; Coino; Debeletz; Debevo; Diabovo; Hissar; Nemet-Csernya; Rilo; Tirnovo-Boruchtitza; Zimnicem.
- Constans II**, 641–668. Athens, 1876–77; Carthage, 1900; Corinth Excavations; Cyprus, 1858; Dnieper Delta; Lacco Ameno; London; Oldenburg; Pereschtschepino; Pergamum Excavations; Priene Excavations; Torontol; Tschausch; Unknown locality, Africa, 1909; Unknown locality, Asia Minor (1).
- Constans II and Constantine Pogonatus**, 654–659. Athens, 1876–1877; Cyprus, 1858; Lacco Ameno; Pergamum Excavations.
- Constans II, Constantine Pogonatus, Heraclius, Tiberius**, 654–659. Athens, 1876–1877; Cyprus, 1858; Lacco Ameno; Pergamum Excavations.
- Constantine IV Pogonatus**, 668–685. Arkesine; Carthage, 1900; Corinth Excavations, 1896–1929; Leidischehir; Oldenburg; Pergamum Excavations; Unknown locality, 1909; Unknown locality, Asia Minor (1).
- Constantine IV, Heraclius and Tiberius**, 668–680? Arkesine; Cyprus, 1858; Lacco Ameno; Pantalica; Torontol.
- Constantine V**, 741?–775. Corinth Excavations, 1896–1929; Lagbe; London.
- Constantine V and Leo III**, 720–741? Hon.
- Constantine V and Leo IV**, 751–775. Reno.
- Constantine VI and Irene**, 780–797. Lagbe; Reno.
- Constantine VII**, 913–959. Akhaltsykh; Corinth Excavations; Hököpinge; Domerarve; Nemet-Csernya; Norrqvie; Pergamum Excavations; St. George (Cape).
- Constantine VII and Romanus II**, 945–959. Alexanderhof; Botels i Hafdem; Boters; Corinth Excavations; Gaja; Högdarve; Jarocin; Leal; Munkegaard; Oranienburg; Othem Co.; St. George (Cape); Stolpe; Stora Sojdeby; Strømsborg; Tureff; Waalse; Wendfelde.

- Constantine VIII**, 1025–1028. Mallgards; Unknown locality, Asia Minor (3).
- Constantine IX Monomachus**, 1042–1055. Corinth Excavations; Diarbekir Vilayet; Kalipetrovo; Oxarve; Priene Excavations; Sofia, 1897; Unknown locality, Asia Minor (3).
- Constantine X Ducas**, 1059–1067. Corinth Excavations; Diarbekir Vilayet; Dwiri; Erivan; Kalipetrovo; Lachin; Motta San Giovanni; Pergamum Excavations; Preslav, 1927; Sofia, 1897; Unknown locality, Asia Minor (3).
- Desiderius**, 757–774. *Lombard*. Ilanz.
- Eraric**, 541. *Ostrogoth*. Sessa.
- Gelimer**, 530–533. *Vandal*. Mt. Castro dei Volsci; Unknown locality.
- Genseric**, 428–477. *Vandal*. Guelma; Philippeville.
- Gunthamund**, 484–496. *Vandal*. Mt. Castro dei Volsci.
- Heraclius I**, 610–641. Akalan; Alexandria; Antinoe; Antinoe (2); Athens, 1876–77; Aydin Vilayet; Beth-Shan; Carthage, 1900; Chatalja; Corinth Excavations; Dnieper Delta; Echmiadsin Co.; Igdir; Khirbat Dubel; Lacco Ameno; London; Medjid Eüsü; Pergamum Excavations; Priene Excavations; Rome, 1587; Sardis; Sarre; Settimo; Thasos; Tiflis; Unknown locality, 1909; Unknown locality, Asia Minor (1); Yalivadj.
- Heraclius I and Heraclius Constantine**, 613–641. Alexandria; Athens, 1876–77; Aydin Vilayet; Chatalja; Echmiadsin Co.; Goulette; Henchir-Sidi; Lacco Ameno; Pereschtschepino; Pergamum Excavations; Perm; Poltawa; Priene Excavations; Rhodes, 1932; Sardis; Szege-din; Thuburbo Majus; Tiflis; Wieuwerd.
- Heraclius I and Heraclonas**, 638–641. Alexandria; Lacco Ameno; Poltawa; Yalivadj.
- Heraclius Constantine**, 613–641. Athens, 1876–77; Echmiadsin; Henchir-Sidi; Igdir; Torontol.
- Hilderic**, 523–530. *Vandal*. Guelma; Philippeville; Unknown locality.
- Huneric**, 477–484. *Vandal*. Mt. Castro dei Volsci.
- Irene of Athens**, 797–802. Reno.
- Isaac I Comnenus**, 1057–1059. Corinth Excavations, 1896–1929 (1); Kalipetrovo; Motta San Giovanni; Preslav, 1927.
- Isaac II Angelus**, 1185–1195 & 1203–1204. Amorgos; Bagarentzi; Bania; Brusa; Corinth Excavations; Diabovo; Gonia; Granitza; Izgherli; Naousa; Pergamum;

- Pergamum Excavations; Preslav, 1927; Priene Excavations; Rhodes, 1931; Toprak-Hissar; Unknown locality, 1917; Urbitza; Zgurigrad; Zlataritza, 1923.
- John Angelus**, 1232–1244. *Thessalonica*. Arta; Caparelli; Postallar.
- John I Angelus Comnenus**, 1271–1296. *Neopatras*. Corinth Excavations, 1896–1929; Lepsina; Pergamum Excavations.
- John I Vatatzes**, 1222–1254. *Nicaea*. Arta; Corinth Excavations, 1896–1929; Corinth, 1933; Pergamum Excavations; Pergamum, 1912.
- John I Zimisces**, 969–976. Alexanderhof; Aytoska Banja; Borovskaja; Boters; Cazitchane; Corinth Excavations; Domerarve; Eskilstuna; Gralow; Halsarve; Jarocin; Korostowo; London; Maszenice; Mgowo; Minsk; Molody; Nas; Norrqvie; Novyi Dvor; Pergamum Excavations; Polzen; Preslav, 1927; Priene Excavations; Rahovo; St. George (Cape); Sobachii Gorb; Sofia, 1910; Staryi Dedin; Stolpe; Tanagra; Vaskovo.
- John II Comnenus**, 1118–1143. Adana; Athens, 1928; Bela-Cerkva; Caparelli; Corinth Excavations; Gonia; Isaccea; Izgherli; Lindos; Mahala-Pissaratzi; Mesembria; Pergamum Excavations; Preslav, 1927; Rilo, 1922; Smyrna; Spaski; Teremia-Mare; Trebizond (1); Zgurigrad.
- John II Angelus**, 1303–1318. *Neopatras*. Chrysso; Ithome.
- John IV**, 1446–1458. *Trebizond*. Trebizond (2).
- John V**, 1341–1391. Unknown locality, Turkey?
- John VIII**, 1423–1448. Corinth Excavations, 1896–1929.
- Justin I**, 518–527. Alexandria; Alise-Saint-Reine, 1804; Alishar; Antinoe; Aytoska Banja; Benevento; Biesebrow; Chinon; Corinth Excavations; El Djem; Etelhem; Finero; Friesland; Gourdon; Hadji Sinanlar; Khirbat Dubel; Klein Schelken; Mominbrod; Naron; Padenge; Pergamum Excavations; Priene Excavations; Rome, 1587; Sofia, 1929; Velsen; Viviers; Wieuwerd.
- Justin I and Justinian**, 527. Cyprus, 1899; El Djem; Finero; Khirbat Dubel.
- Justin II**, 565–578. Alexandria; Antinoe (2); Corinth Excavations; Khirbat Dubel; Munningen; Naron; Osetia; Priene Excavations; Sadovetz; Selinti; Unknown locality, Asia Minor (2); Unknown locality, Egypt, 1908–09; Wieuwerd.

- Justin II and Sophia**, 565–578. Athens, 1908; Bucharest, 1929; Ephesus; London; Pergamum Excavations; Priene Excavations; Sadovetz; Sardis.
- Justinian I**, 527–565. Akeback; Alexandria; Alise-Saint-Reine; Anchialus; Antinoe; Athens, 1908; Aytoska Banja; Batum; Benevento; Bielojarovka; Biesenbrow; Corinth; Corinth Excavations; Cotrone; Deerlyk; El Djem; Ephesus; Escharen; Finero; Frickingen; Friesland; Hadji Sinanlar; Hyeres; Kapril di Sebenico; Khirbat Dubel; Mt. Castro dei Volsci; Monte Roduni; Munningen; Naronia; Oldenburg; Osetia; Pergamum Excavations; Priene Excavations; Rahovo; Rome, 1587; Rovalds; Sadovetz; Satu-Nou; Sessa; Smekalovka; Tchenghe; Unknown locality, Asia Minor (1); Unknown locality, Asia Minor (2); Unknown locality, Asia Minor (3); Unknown locality, Egypt, 1908–09; Varna; Velsen; Viviers; Wieuwerd; Zashowitz; Zeccone.
- Justinian II**, 685–694 & 705–711. Leidischehir; Pitsund Monastery, 1915; Unknown locality, Asia Minor (1).
- Justinian II and Tiberius**, 705–711. Cornus, 1858; Ossi.
- Leo III**, 717–741. Lagbe; Ossi; Reno.
- Leo IV**, 775–780. Corinth Excavations, 1896–1929; Lagbe.
- Leo IV and Constantine VI**, 776–780. Reno; Priene Excavations.
- Leo V and Constantine**, 813–820. Lagbe; Priene Excavations.
- Leo VI**, 886–912. Cittanuova; Corinth Excavations, 1896–1929; Corinth, 1934 (2); Pergamum Excavations; Reggio di Calabria; St. George (Cape of).
- Leo VI and Alexander**, 886–912? St. George (Cape of).
- Leo VI and Constantine VII**, 911–912. Opize monastery.
- Liutprand**, 712–744. *Lombard*. Ilanz; Ossi.
- Manuel Angelus**, 1230–1232. *Thessalonica*. Arta.
- Manuel I Comnenus**, 1143–1180. Amorgos; Bania; Batcun; Brusa; Bucharest, 1920; Caparelli; Corinth Excavations, 1896–1929; Draganovo; Eremia; Granitza; Hraljero-Raschka; Isaccea; Izgherli; Kaleutze; Lindos; London; Marathon Dam; Naousa; Ossoytza; Pergamum; Pergamum Excavations; Postallar; Preslav, 1927; Priene Excavations; Rhodes, 1931; Spaski; Srbovo; Teremia-Mare; Trebizond (1); Unknown locality, 1917; Unknown locality, 1924; Urbitza; Zgurigrad; Zlataritza, 1910; Zlataritza, 1923.

- Maurice Tiberius**, 582–602. Akalan; Alexandria; Antinoe; Antinoe (2); Beth-Shan, 1930; Chatalja; Constantino-ple; Corinth Excavations, 1896–1929; Cyprus, 1899; Escharen; Goulette; Hon; Khirbat Dubel; Nokalakewi; Pereschtschepino; Pergamum Excavations; Priene Excavations; Rome, 1587; Sadovetz; Sardis; Sarre; Selinti; Unknown locality, Asia Minor (1); Unknown locality, Asia Minor (2); Unknown locality, Egypt, 1908–09.
- Manuel II**, 1391–1423. Rhodes, 1931.
- Michael I**, 811–813. Corinth Excavations, 1896–1929.
- Michael I and Theophylactus**, 811–813. Lagbe.
- Michael II**, 820–829. Corinth Excavations, 1896–1929; Oldenburg, Ragusa.
- Michael II**, 1237–1271. *Epirus*. Arta.
- Michael II and Theophilus**, 821?–829. Lagbe; Pergamum Excavations.
- Michael III**, 842–867. Corinth Excavations, 1896–1929; Oldenburg; Sungurlu.
- Michael III and Theodora**, 852?–856. Hon; Sungurlu.
- Michael IV**, 1034–1041. Corinth Excavations, 1896–1929; Preslav, 1927; Priene Excavations.
- Michael VI**, 1056–1057. Corinth Excavations, 1896–1929; Priene Excavations.
- Michael VII Ducas**, 1071–1078. Corinth Excavations, 1896–1929; Diarbekir; Diarbekir (Hissinkief Citadel); Diarbekir Vilayet; Gurghendjik; Hissar, 1922; Ilioje; Kalipetrovo; Pergamum Excavations; Preslav, 1927.
- Michael VIII Palaeologus**, 1261–1282. Aglen; Corinth Excavations, 1896–1929; Gurghendjik; Pergamum Excavations; Smyrna.
- Michael VIII**, 1259–1282. *Nicaea*. Arta.
- Michael IX**, 1295–1320. Draghijevo.
- Nicephorus I**, 802–811. Corinth Excavations, 1896–1929; Lagbe; Reno.
- Nicephorus I and Stauricus**, 803–811. Lagbe.
- Nicephorus II Phocas**, 963–969. Alexanderhof; Althöfchen; Broby; Corinth Excavations, 1896–1929; Pergamum Excavations; Peuth; St. George (Cape of); Stolpe; Stora Sojdeby; Trzebun; Vaskovo.
- Nicephorus II and Basil II**, 963. Gaja.
- Nicephorus III Botantiates**, 1078–1081. Boli; Corinth Excavations, 1896–1929; Corinth, 1934 (2); Hissar, 1922; Priene Excavations; Sofia, 1897; Saphaphar.
- Odovacar**, 476–493. *Ostrogoth*. Mezzocammino; Unknown locality.

- Ostrogothic.** Perugia; Monte Roduni; Monte Rosa.
- Phocas I**, 602–610. Akalan; Alexandria; Antinoe; Antinoe (2); Athens, 1876–1877; Aydin Vilayet; Beth-Shan, 1930; Chatalja; Corinth Excavations, 1896–1929; Euboea; Goulette; Henschir-Sidi; Khirbat Dubel; Medjid Eüsü; Oldenburg; Osetia; Pereschtschepino; Pergamum Excavations; Priene Excavations; Rhodes, 1932; Rome, 1587; Sardis; Settimo; Unknown locality, Asia Minor (1); Unknown locality, Asia Minor (2); Wieuwerd, 1866. Yalivadj.
- Romanus I**, 919–944. Corinth, 1934 (1); St. George (Cape of); Vaskovo.
- Romanus I and Christopher**, 921–931. Strømsborg.
- Romanus I, Constantine VII, Stephen and Constantine**, 931–944. Botels i Hafdem.
- Romanus II and Basil II**, 960–963. St. George (Cape of).
- Romanus II**, 959–963. Pergamum Excavations; St. George (Cape of).
- Romanus III**, 1028–1034. Corinth Excavations, 1896–1929; Sofia, 1897.
- Romanus IV**, 1067–1071. Corinth Excavations, 1896–1929; Pergamum Excavations; Priene Excavations; Zagalu.
- Romanus IV, Eudocia, Michael VII, Constantine and Andronicus**, 1067–1071. Boli, Dwiri; Kalipetrovo; Sofia, 1897.
- Theodahad**, 534–536. *Ostrogoth.* Mt. Castro dei Volsci; Sessa; Unknown locality.
- Theodora**, Daughter of Constantine VIII, 1055–1056. Cittanuova; Corinth Excavations, 1896–1929; Corinth, 1934 (2); Motta San Giovanni; Preslav, 1927; Priene Excavations.
- Theodora, Michael III, and Thecla**, 842–856. Sungurlu.
- Theodore Angelus**, 1222–1230. *Thessalonica.* Arta; Corinth Excavations, 1896–1929.
- Theodore I**, 1204–1222. *Nicaea.* Brusa; Corinth Excavations, 1896–1929; Cyprus, ante 1852; Pergamum; Pergamum Excavations; Postallar; Priene Excavations.
- Theodore II**, 1254–1258. *Nicaea.* Arta; Pergamum; Smyrna; Corinth Excavations, 1896–1929.
- Theodoric**, 493–526. *Ostrogoth.* Finero; Mengen; Mt. Castro; Unknown locality; Zeccone.
- Theodore Comnenus**, 1214–1230. *Epirus.* Amorgos.
- Theophilus**, 829–842. Cazitchane; Constantine; Corinth Excavations, 1896–1929; Lagbe; Rome, 1882.

Theophilus, Michael and Constantine VIII, 832?-839?
Lagbe; Porto Torres; Ragusa; Sungurlu.

Tiberius, son of Constans II, 659-668. Settimo.

Tiberius II Constantine, 578-582. Alexandria; Antinoe; Bucharest, 1929; Chatalja; Corinth Excavations, 1896-1929; Ephesus; Ghertche-Cunar; Khirbat Dubel; Medjid Eüsü; Munningen; Naron; Ortacesos; Priene Excavations; Rome, 1587; Sadovetz; Unknown locality, Asia Minor (2); Unknown locality, Egypt, 1908-09; Wieuwerd, 1866.

Tiberius III Apsimarus, 698-705. Ossi; Pergamum Excavations.

Trebezond. Dzansul.

Vandalic. Cagliari; Carthage, c.1887; Monte Roduni; Monte Rosa; Perugia.

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Asia Minor. Adana; Alaya; Alishar, 1930; Aydin Vilayet; Boli; Brusa; Diarbekir; Diarbekir (Hissinkief Citadel); Diarbekir Vilayet; Ephesus, 1917?; Ilioje; Lagbe; Leidischehir; Makri, 1922; Medjid Eüsü; Pergamum; Pergamum Excavations; Pergamum, 1912; Priene Excavations; Sardis, 1910-14; Selinti; Smyrna, 1840; Sungurlu; Trebizond (1); Trebizond (2); Tschausch; Unknown locality (1); Unknown locality (2); Unknown locality (3); Unknown locality (4); Unknown locality, 1924; Yalivadj, 1924.

Austria. Gaja, 1858; Zaschowitz.

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Bulgaria. Aglen, 1912; Akalan, 1913; Anchialus, 1912; Aytoska Banja, 1911; Bagarentzi, 1926; Bania, 1926; Batcun, 1922?; Bela-cerkva, 1934; Botevo, 1904; Brzovitza, 1926; Carlovo, 1899; Cartal, 1914; Cazitchane, 1912?; Coino, 1930; Debeletz, 1899; Debnevo, 1926; Diabovo, 1924; Divdedovo, 1909; Draganovo, 1925; Draghijevo, 1912?; Eremia, 1924; Filipovtzi, 1896; Gherman, 1914; Ghertche-Cunar, 1927; Gornia Bania, 1906; Granitza, 1923; Gurghendjik, 1911; Hadji Sinanlar, 1914; Hissar, 1920; Hissar, 1922; Hotnitza, 1903; Izgherli, 1903; Madara, 1903; Mahala-Pissaratzi, 1927; Mesembria, 1932; Mominbrod, 1914; Opaca, 1929; Ossoytza, 1926; Preslav, 1909; Preslav, 1927; Rahovo, 1910?; Rilo, 1901; Rilo, 1922; Sadovetz, 1934; Samocov, 1906; Sofia, 1897; Sofia, 1910; Sofia, 1929; Taram, 1902; Tchenghe, 1924; Tirnovo, 1898; Tirnovo, 1912; Tirnovo-Boruchtitza, 1907; Toprak-Hissar, 1920; Urbitza, 1924; Varna, 1909; Vidin, 1896; Vucovo, 1898; Zgurigrad, 1928; Zlataritza, 1910; Zlataritza, 1923.

Cyprus. Cyprus, ante 1852; Cyprus, 1858; Cyprus, 1899; Lapithos.

- Denmark.** Almindingen; Bornholm; Elsehoved; Enner; Munkegaard, 1864; Saltholmsgaard, 1882; Soldatergaard, 1850; Spagergaard, 1860; Svenborg; Waalse, 1835.
- Egypt.** Alexandria, 1903; Antinoe, 1914 (1); Antinoe, 1914 (2); Saqqara Excavations, 1908-10; Tell Atrib, 1906?; Unknown locality, 1908-09.
- England.** London, 1872; Sarre, 1860.
- Estonia.** Clausholm, 1880; Jervis, 1685; Leal, 1924; Peuth, 1906; Sane; Volliä, 1903.
- Finland.** Luurila, 1906; Reval, 1926; Salo, 1686.
- France.** Alise, 1804; Chinon, 1881; Gourdon, 1845; Hyères, 1910?; Viviers.
- Germany.** Alexanderhof, 1901; Biesenbrow; Bresin, 1795; Caseburg, 1864; Frickingen, 1896?; Gralow, 1896; Hela, 1800; Mengen, 1932; Mgowo, 1893; Munningen, 1906; Oldenburg; Oranienburg, 1861; Polzin, 1886; Priebrow, 1914; Schwaan, 1859; Stolpe, 1847; Tureff, 1846; Vörden; Wendfelde, 1837; Winzig, 1899; Zalesche, 1919.
- Greece.** Amorgos, 1909; Arkesine, c. 1900; Arta; Athens, 1876-77; Athens (Dipylon), 1908; Athens, 1928; Caparelli, 1927; Chryso, 1929?; Corinth; Corinth Excavations, 1896-1929 (1); Corinth Excavations, 1896-1929 (2); Corinth, 1933; Corinth, 1934 (1); Corinth, 1934 (2); Dempoziike, 1927; Euboea, 1922; Gonia, (Thera), 1910; Ithome, 1900; Kaleutze, 1922; Lepsina, 1862; Marathon Dam, 1928; Naousa, (Paros), 1927; Olympia, 1875-77; Tanagra, 1924; Thasos, (Dionysios), 1923; Volo, 1907.
- Hungary.** Szegedin, Torontol.
- Italy.** Benevento; Campobello; Cittanuova, 1923; Cotrone; Finero, 1888; Lacco Ameno, 1891; Mezzocammino, 1916; Monte Roduni del Sannio; Monte Rosa (Lipari), 1909?; Motta San Giovanni, 1923; Mt. Castro dei Volsci; Ossi, 1907; Padenghe; Perugia; Reggio di Calabria; Reno, 1857; Rome, 1587; Rome, 1882; Sessa (Aurunca); Zeccone.
- Netherlands.** Escharen, 1897; Friesland; Velsen; Wieuwerd, 1866.
- Norway.** Hon farm, Eker, 1834; Strømsberg, 1826.
- Palestine.** Beth-Shan, 1930; Khirbat Dubel, 1928.
- Poland.** Althöfchen, 1872; Jarocin; Maszenice; Mikolajewicz, 1893; Sierpov, 1823; Trzebun, 1824.
- Prinkipo.** Prinkipo, 1930?
- Rhodes.** Lindos; Rhodes, 1931; Rhodes, 1932.

- Rumania.** Bucharest, 1920; Bucharest, 1929; Dolhesti, 1881-2; Isaccea, 1913; Kalipetrovo, 1928; Klein Schelken, 1856; Satu-Nou, 1912; Teremia-Mare, 1903; Zimnicem.
- Russia.** Bieloiarovka, 1913; Borovskaja, 1846; Denis, 1912; Dnieper Delta, 1927; Dorogobuz, 1847; Korostowo, 1891; Molody, 1878; Novyi Dvor, 1871; Pereschtschepino, 1912; Perm, 1851; Porecje, 1886; St. George (Cape), 1856; Sobachii Gorb, 1906; Spanko, 1913; Spaski, 1879; Staraia Ladoga, 1920; Staryi Dedin, 1926; Vaskovo, 1923; Zatschepilovo, 1928.
- Sardinia.** Cagliari; Cornus S. Caterina, 1858?; Ortacesos, 1860?; Porto Torres, 1922; Sant' Antioco; Settimo, 1842.
- Siberia.** Biisk.
- Sicily.** Pantalica, 1903; Syracuse, 1896.
- Sweden.** Akeback, 1929; Allmänninge, 1836; Bjärby; Botels i Hafdem; Boters, 1860; Broa, 1913; Broby, 1816-17; Digrans, 1828; Djuped, 1919; Domerarve, 1857; Enges; Eskelhem, 1860; Eskilstuna, 1833; Etelhem, 1929; Fole, 1910?; Fölhagen; Gerete, 1845; Halsarve, 1848; Högdarve; Hograns Parish; Hököpinge, 1820; Kaggeholm, 1783; Katlunds; Kvarna, 1839; Larsarve, 1854; Lilla Klintegårda, 1704; Lilla Rone; Lilla Vadstade; Mallgards, 1854; Myrungs Farm, 1807; Näs, 1704; Nixdjup; Norrqvie, 1834; Nygårds, 1874; Österby, 1920; Östjårdra, 1919; Othem Co., 1846; Oxarve, 1920; Petes, 1838; Risungs, 1837; Rosendal; Rovalds; Sigsarve, 1918; Snakarve, 1918; Stige, 1903; Stora Sojdeby, 1900; Suderbys; Talings; Unknown locality, 1711; Visby; Wible, 1739.
- Switzerland.** Ilanz, 1904.
- Transcaucasia.** Akhaltsykh, 1906; Alexandropol, 1878?; Ani; Balabur; Batum; Dwiri, 1929; Dzansul, c.1900; Echmiadsin Co., 1908; Erivan, 1878; Igdir; Lachin, 1925; Mtskheth, 1872; Nokalakewi, 1929; Opize Monastery, 1900; Osetia; Ozurget Co., 1905; Pitsund Monastery, 1915; Rachin Co., 1901; Saphafar Monastery, c.1890; Smekalovka; Tiflis, 1904; Zagalu, 190-.
- Turkey in Europe.** Chatalja; Constantinople, 1910?; Postallar.
- Unknown Locality.** Unknown locality, 1917; Unknown locality.
- Yugoslavia.** Hraljero-Raschka, 1926?; Kapril di Sebenico, 1900?; Naron; Nemet-Csernya; Ragusa, 1892; Srbovo.

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FIVE GREEK BRONZE
COIN HOARDS

BY
EDWARD T. NEWELL

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
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FIVE GREEK BRONZE COIN HOARDS

BY EDWARD T. NEWELL

I. EUBOEIA

When in 1909 the late—and I fear unlamented—C. Christodoulos of Athens visited America he brought with him, for disposal, several thousand Greek gold, silver and copper coins. Many hundreds of these, ostensibly the rarest, had but recently emanated from his own private mint.¹ In conformity with his usual practice, the remainder were unquestionably genuine examples of the commoner varieties of ancient coins. These Christodoulos employed as a sort of *camouflage* with which to lull any possible suspicions on the part of

¹ The writer very much questions whether Christodoulos personally manufactured the forgeries attributed to him. It is practically certain that he had several artificers, of varying ability, working under his direction or inspiration. Svoronos, in his *Mille coins faux*, gives a list only of the dies actually seized by the Government. Hundreds of others must have escaped the hands of the police, or were produced at a later date. Hence, unfortunately, we possess but a partial catalogue of the truly surprising quantity of coins known to have issued from this modern *argyrokopeion*. On the other hand there exist, on this side of the Atlantic, two fairly extensive collections of such pieces, which thus partially make up for a lack of a comprehensive catalogue of the total output.

2 FIVE GREEK BRONZE HOARDS

his intended victims. He was thus frequently enabled to dispose of his forgeries or, at worst, to get rid of a lot of common but authentic specimens which tended to glut his markets in Europe. In the United States Christodoulos apparently did a fair amount of business with his silver coins, but found some difficulty in disposing of the large number of copper coins which he had brought with him. Finally, just before his departure, he and the writer came to terms with regard to the latter.

Amongst these copper pieces were what obviously represented two hoards which Christodoulos had purchased *en bloc* from their finders. The one lot contained one hundred and seventy-nine coins of Mytilene, all of the same type; the other lot comprised the following one hundred and eighty-four coins of Euboea. In the expectation of publishing these some day, the two parcels have been kept intact since 1909. Perhaps it was the "new leisure" of the present depression which has finally awakened in the writer the desire—and given him the opportunity—to study and publish the two hoards in question. At any rate, they have now been extracted from their almost forgotten resting place, and are here presented for what they may be worth. Selected specimens of this Euboean hoard are illustrated on Plate I.

FIVE GREEK BRONZE HOARDS 3

CARYSTUS

After 197 B.C.

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|--|
| 1-6 | Veiled female head to r. | KAPY above bull but-
ting r. In the exergue,
club. Dies ↑. Gr. 4.82;
4.76; 4.67; 4.05; 3.94;
3.45. Very good to
fine. |
|-----|--------------------------|--|

CHALCIS

3rd Century B.C.

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| 7-8 | Female head facing, wearing earrings, necklace, and diadem surmounted by five disks with human faces, over which passes a fillet, the ends of which hang down. The head is placed on the capital of an Ionic column. | Eagle flying l., holding serpent in beak and claws. Beneath, XAA. Dies ↑. Gr. 3.47; 3.25. Very worn. |
| 9 | Similar, but of later style and higher relief. The head inclines slightly to r. On the r., XAA (?). Bevelled edge. | Eagle flying to r. with serpent. Beneath, Cornucopiae. Dies ↑. Gr. 3.23. Very good. |

After 197 B.C.

- | | | |
|-------|---|--|
| 10-32 | Female head r., hair rolled and covered | Eagle flying r., holds serpent in beak and |
|-------|---|--|

4 FIVE GREEK BRONZE HOARDS

with net of pearls, apparently bound with fillet, the end of which hangs down behind the neck.

claws. Beneath, XAA.
Above eagle's head,
Trident r.

Dies ↑: Gr. 5.78;
5.16; 4.71; 4.28; 4.11;
3.95; 3.45.

Dies ↓: Gr. 5.04;
5.03; 4.54.

Dies ↗: Gr. 4.88;
4.72; 4.06.

Dies →: Gr. 5.57; 4.39.

Dies ↘: Gr. 4.07; 2.99.

Dies ↙: Gr. 5.80;
5.03; 4.10; 3.78.

Dies ↖: Gr. 4.49; 4.46.

33 Similar.

Similar, but above
eagle's head, Star.

Dies ←: Gr. 4.35.

34-36 Similar.

Similar, but below
eagle and to r. of in-
scription, Star.

Dies →: Gr. 4.81.

Dies ↗: Gr. 4.64; 4.50.

37-71 Similar.

Similar, but below
eagle and to r. of in-
scription, Dolphin.

Dies ↑: Gr. 5.10;
4.65; 4.56; 4.24.

Dies ↓: Gr. 4.95;
3.52; 3.51.

Dies ↗: Gr. 4.22.

Dies →: Gr. 5.48;

FIVE GREEK BRONZE HOARDS 5

5.19; 5.17; 4.27; 3.91.

Dies \searrow : Gr. 4.43;
4.38; 4.21.

Dies \swarrow : Gr. 5.07; 4.14.

Dies \leftarrow : Gr. 4.94;
4.78; 4.52; 4.35; 4.21;
4.20; 4.18; 3.94; 3.92;
3.91; 3.89; 3.87; 3.80;
3.67; 3.03.

Dies \nearrow : Gr. 4.80; 4.29.

72-82 Similar.

Similar, but with a
Palm-branch above
the eagle's wing, and
the Dolphin to the r.
of the inscription.

Dies \uparrow : Gr. 5.56; 4.55.

Dies \downarrow : Gr. 5.18;
4.83; 4.59.

Dies \nearrow : Gr. 4.68.

Dies \rightarrow : Gr. 4.63; 4.06.

Dies \swarrow : Gr. 5.23; 3.95.

Dies \nwarrow : Gr. 4.67.

83-89 Similar.

Similar, but the sym-
bol is off flan or ob-
scure. Probably the
symbol on these coins
was the Dolphin.

Dies \nearrow : Gr. 5.29.

Dies \leftarrow : Gr. 4.87;
4.73; 4.56; 4.48; 4.07;
3.77.

6 FIVE GREEK BRONZE HOARDS

- 90-91 Similar. Similar, but the symbol is quite uncertain.
 Dies \uparrow : Gr. 5.82.
 Dies \downarrow : Gr. 4.07.

IN NAME OF THE EUBOEANS

Mint: ERETRIA

3rd Century B.C.

- 92 Bull standing to l. Inscription obliterated.
 Above, Star. Beneath, EY. Vine-branch with two bunches of grapes.
 Above, Star. Cf. Brit. Mus. Cat., Nos. 34-35.
 Dies \uparrow : Gr. 3.46.
 Very worn.
- 93-95 Similar. Above, Similar.
 Star. Beneath, Σ Dies \uparrow : Gr. 3.72.
 Dies \uparrow : Gr. 3.55; 3.06.
 All very much worn.
- 96 Similar. Above, Similar. Very much worn.
 Star. Beneath, Σ Dies \uparrow : Gr. 2.82.
- 97-98 Similar. Above, Similar. Very much worn.
 Star. Beneath, Σ Dies \uparrow : Gr. 4.41; 3.96.
- 99-100 Similar. Above, Similar. Portions of the inscription EYBO are to be seen below
 Star. Beneath, TI.

FIVE GREEK BRONZE HOARDS 7

- | | |
|---|--|
| | the grapes. Very worn.
Dies ↑ : Gr. 3.24.
Dies ↗ : Gr. 3.33. |
| 101–103 Similar. Letters beneath bull are illegible. | Similar. Very much worn.
Dies ↑. Gr. 4.04; 3.78.
Dies ↙. Gr. 3.96. |
| 104 Bull reclining to l. Above, Star. Beneath, ΔΗΜΑΡΧΟΣ (only partially legible). | Similar. Worn.
Dies ↑. Gr. 5.08. |

IN NAME OF THE ERETRIANS

- | | |
|--|---|
| 105 Bull reclining to r. Above, Ear of wheat. Beneath, ΜΑΝΤΙ-ΔΩΡΟΣ (only partially legible). | ΕΡΕΤΡ... above vine-branch from which hang two bunches of grapes. Slightly worn.
Dies ↑. Gr. 2.89. |
|--|---|

IN NAME OF THE EUBOEANS

After 194 B.C.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 106–109 Veiled female head to r. | ΕΥΒΟΙ—ΕΩΝ above and below bull butting r. To l. of bull, Caduceus. Somewhat worn.
Dies ↑. Gr. 4.70.
Dies →. Gr. 5.65; 4.25.
Dies ↖. Gr. 6.44. |
|----------------------------------|--|

8 FIVE GREEK BRONZE HOARDS

- 110-114 Similar. Similar. To r. of bull, Ear of wheat (upright). Worn to very good.
 Dies ↑. Gr. 5.38; 4.25.
 Dies ↗. Gr. 5.17; 4.23; 3.43.
- 115-128 Similar. Similar. In the exergue, to r. of the inscription, Ear of wheat. Cf. Brit. Mus. Cat., p. 98, No. 40 (Pl. XVII, 17) where the symbol is erroneously described as Spear-head(?). Worn to very good.
 Dies ↑. Gr. 3.91; 3.74.
 Dies ↓. Gr. 4.78; 4.63.
 Dies ↗. Gr. 4.38; 4.21; 3.54.
 Dies →. Gr. 4.46.
 Dies ↘. Gr. 4.51.
 Dies ↙. Gr. 4.99; 4.61; 4.16.
 Dies ←. Gr. 4.74.
 Dies ↖. Gr. 4.12.
- 129 Similar. Similar. In the exergue, between the E and the Ω, ⚡. Good.
 Dies ↑. Gr. 5.70.
- 130-136 Similar. Similar. These coins may belong to any of the Nos. from 106 to 129, inclusive, as the exergue is off flan. Worn.
 Dies ↑. Gr. 5.18.

FIVE GREEK BRONZE HOARDS 9

Dies ↗. Gr. 4.91.
 Dies →. Gr. 3.58.
 Dies ↘. Gr. 5.66; 5.16; 4.01;
 3.82.

137–139 Similar.

Similar. Above the bull, between Y and B, Star. Somewhat worn.
 Dies ↑. Gr. 5.53; 4.78.
 Dies ↖. Gr. 4.82.

140–144 Similar.

Similar. Above bull, between Y and B, Staff of Aesculapius. Behind bull, K. Worn to good.
 Dies ↑. Gr. 4.92.
 Dies ↗. Gr. 6.01; 5.56.
 Dies ↘. Gr. 6.23.
 Dies ↙. Gr. 4.84.

145–148 Similar.

Similar but without the letter behind the bull. Worn to good.
 Dies ↑. Gr. 4.37; 4.10.
 Dies ↗. Gr. 4.13.
 Dies ↘. Gr. 5.20.

149–154 Similar.

Similar. Above bull, between Y and B, Trident. Worn to good.
 Dies ↑. Gr. 5.28; 3.62.
 Dies ↗. Gr. 5.44; 4.36.
 Dies ↘. Gr. 5.45.
 Dies ↙. Gr. 5.11.

10 FIVE GREEK BRONZE HOARDS

- 155–162 Similar. Similar. Below bull, between E and Ω, Trident.
Worn to good.
Dies ↑. Gr. 4.42.
Dies ↗. Gr. 4.63.
Dies →. Gr. 4.95; 4.22.
Dies ↘. Gr. 4.31; 3.47.
Dies ←. Gr. 4.77.
Dies ↖. Gr. 5.45.
- 163–167 Similar. Similar. In the exergue, between E and Ω, large X.
Good to very good.
Dies ↑. Gr. 5.11; 4.15; 3.87.
Dies ↖. Gr. 5.16; 3.78.
- 168–175 Similar. Similar. Above bull, between Y and B, Wreath.
Good to very good.
Dies ↑. Gr. 5.15; 3.92.
Dies ↓. Gr. 5.51; 5.32; 3.90.
Dies ↖. Gr. 4.53; 3.55; 3.38.
- 176 Similar. Similar, but the monogram or symbol is obliterated.
Worn.
Dies ↘. Gr. 5.17.

IN NAME OF THE ERETRIANS

After 191 B.C.

- 177–184 Veiled female head to l. APIΣTO NIKOΣ in two lines above bull recumbent to l. In the exergue, EPET-

FIVE GREEK BRONZE HOARDS 11

PIEΩN. Very good to fine.

Dies ↑. Gr. 4.52; 4.48; 4.02;
3.68.

Dies ←. Gr. 4.13.

Dies ↖. Gr. 5.18; 4.23; 4.21.

Since the publication of Head's Catalogue of the Greek coins in the British Museum, *Central Greece*, but little further research has been devoted to the bronze coinages of Euboea. The present hoard is proof that some slight modifications are desirable in the accepted arrangement of the third and early second century copper issues of Chalcis and Eretria at least. This fact is further accentuated by the hoard of three hundred and fifty-two bronze coins and one silver hemidrachm found by N. Pappadakis in his excavation of the precinct of Isis near Eretria in 1914.² That particular hoard apparently dovetails with the present one in a most satisfactory manner, the former leaving off just where ours commences.

Head, in the British Museum Catalogue, as well as in the *Historia Numorum*, assigns almost no bronze coins at all to the third century B.C. Even though Chalcis was firmly held by Macedonian garrisons throughout a large portion of this century, the other Euboean cities (and probably Chalcis as well) were surely allowed the privilege of a local bronze coinage³—as was the case with

² *Arch. Deltion*, 1915, pp. 145–7.

³ Babelon, *Traité*, II³, pp. 172–4, 189–92, 199–202.

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so many other cities of Greece proper under Macedonian supremacy. The hoard discovered by Pappadakis must represent this coinage, though he naturally follows Head⁴ in assigning it to the period after the proclamation of the freedom of the Greek cities by Flamininus in 197 B.C.

Let us proceed to investigate, city by city, the issues contained in the two hoards. Coins of Carystus were not present in the Pappadakis hoard at all, while in ours (Nos. 1–6) they comprise one issue only. These particular specimens are in fine condition and so must be among the latest in the hoard. Their types are the veiled female head and the butting bull which, because they are exceptional at Carystus, necessarily associate this coinage with the similar one coined at Eretria in the name of the Euboeans (Nos. 106–76). Style, fabric (i.e. a very noticeable tendency to bevelled edges in the flans), and weight are identical in the two series. The Eretrian coins have been acceptably assigned by Head⁵ to the period after 197 B.C. The comparatively good style shows that they could not have been coined very much later than this, while the similar veiled head on the unique tetradrachm of Chalcis in the British Mu-

⁴ The third volume of Babelon's *Traité* appeared in 1914 and probably did not reach Pappadakis until too late for use in his study of the Eretria Hoard.

⁵ *Historia Numorum*², p. 363; Brit. Mus. Cat., pp. 98–9, Nos. 39–44, Pl. XVII, 17.

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seum has been associated by Gardner⁶ with the sojourn of Antiochus III in Euboea in 192-1 B.C.

Chalcis is represented in the Pappadakis hoard by thirty-one specimens of an issue bearing the curious facing head of the celestial Hera⁷ placed upon the capital of an Ionic column; together with a single specimen, in fine condition, of a coin bearing a similar head of later style and with magistrates' names ΦΙΛΙΣ and ΑΑΘ on the reverse.⁸ The former issue is represented in our hoard by two coins in an extremely worn condition. They evidently had been in continued circulation for many years before their burial.⁹ In types they are identical with the smaller sized coins assigned by Head¹⁰ to 369-336 B.C. and by Babelon¹¹ to 369-313 B.C. The style and fabric, however, are distinctly later and place them in the third century B.C. The flans are flat and have thick, straight edges while those of the smaller and earlier coins are concave and have rounder edges. The reverse type, too, has a beaded border which is never seen on the earlier pieces.

⁶ *Num. Chron., N.S.*, Vol. XVIII, 1878, pp. 96-100.

⁷ *Historia Numorum*², p. 359.

⁸ *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, pp. 115-6, Nos. 96-103, Pl. XXI, 5, 6.

⁹ A similar piece is described by Babelon, *Traité*, II², p. 187, No. 166, Pl. CXC VII, 15, who dates it between 369 and circa 313 B.C. This is somewhat too early, in the present writer's opinion.

¹⁰ *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, p. 113, Nos. 79-80.

¹¹ *Traité*, II², p. 187, No. 165.

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The coin with the magistrate's names in the Pappadakis hoard (his No. 266, Fig. 19, No. 1) is in style, weight and fabric (bevelled edges, etc.) closely similar to the veiled female head issues of Carystus (our Nos. 1-6) and Eretria (our Nos. 106-76). They are in all probability nearly contemporaneous and belong to the beginning of the second century B.C. A similar piece was not contained in our hoard, but is there represented by its half (No. 9), of similar types, style and fabric.¹² While the Pappadakis specimen is in fine condition (and so probably among the latest pieces in

¹² This similarity indicates that the two denominations belonged to one and the same issue of coin. It should further be noted that where the larger coin bears the magistrate's letters ΑΑΘ, our piece displays the symbol Cornucopiae. Now these particular letters form no known Greek name. On the majority of available specimens (i.e. three out of four legible specimens in the writer's collection) the letters are clearly ΑΑΘ—that is, the first alpha *always* has the broken bar, while the second alpha usually has the straight bar. This most unusual (and in this case perhaps significant) mixture of forms suggests that the first letter is really intended to represent a monogram composed of A and M. With regard to the second alpha the die-cutter (when he was paying attention) deliberately altered the form to indicate an intentional difference in the two letters. It would naturally happen at times, in the hurry of die-cutting, that the engraver committed ditto-graphy and made the second alpha like the first. In any case, the second alpha could well stand for a ligature of A and Λ, giving us the form AMAΛΘ for the first portion of the magistrate's name. The smaller flan of the denomination in our hoard did not offer so much space, even for the abbreviated name, and the latter's place was therefore taken by its symbolic equivalent the Cornucopiae—or, as it is frequently called, the Horn of Amalthea.

the Eretria hoard), its corresponding half in our find is somewhat worn.

Chalkis, in the present hoard, is for the most part represented by the eighty-two specimens with the female head facing to r. and wearing a head covering of pearls and a fillet (Nos. 10–91). These coins were hesitatingly assigned by Head¹³ to 369–336 B.C. Babelon¹⁴ gives them the slightly longer period from 369 to 313 B.C. But their late and rather poor style, and especially their presence in our hoard, proves them to be actually much later in date. As they are of similar style and weight to the coins of Carystus and to the majority of those of Eretria which we are here studying, they evidently belong to the early part of the second century B.C. In fact, they must correspond (for Chalcis) to Nos. 1–6 of Carystus and Nos. 106–76 of Eretria. They probably preceded the second century silver issues of Chalcis with magistrate's name in full and the ethnic XAA-KIΔEΩN or XAAKI,¹⁵ associated with which silver issues there are known copper coins, many being of similar types but bearing magistrates' names and the long form of the ethnic.¹⁶

With regard to the mint at Eretria, Pappadakis' hoard contained forty coins; obverse, bull recum-

¹³ Brit. Mus. Cat., pp. 113–4, Nos. 81–84, Pl. XX, 16, 17.

¹⁴ *Traité*, II³, p. 187, No. 167, Pl. CXC VII, 16.

¹⁵ Brit. Mus. Cat., p. 114, Nos. 85–88, Pl. XXI, 2–3. *Historia Numorum*², pp. 359–60.

¹⁶ Brit. Mus. Cat., pp. 115–6, Nos. 89–95, 104.

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bent to r. or l. and the magistrate's name (ΣΑΤΥ-
ΡΟΣ, ΔΗΜΑΡΧΟΣ, ΙΤΙΑΞ) in the exergue;
reverse, two grape clusters depending from a vine-
branch, and the inscription ΕΥΒΟΙΕΩΝ in full or
abbreviated. Likewise, that hoard contained two
hundred and twenty-five coins with the bull re-
clining to r., ear of wheat above, ΜΑΝΤΙΑΩΡΟΣ
in the exergue; *reverse*, as before but now with
the ethnic ΕΡΕΤΡΙ or ΕΡΕΤΡΙΕΩΝ. Our own
hoard, on the other hand, contains a specimen
(No. 105) of this last type in good condition, a
specimen (No. 104) of the ΔΗΜΑΡΧΟΣ type in
worn condition, and twelve (Nos. 92-103) speci-
mens, in a very much worn state, of still earlier
coins with standing bull accompanied by magis-
trates' monograms or initials. Similar pieces have
been assigned by Head¹⁷ to the period after 196
B.C. Obviously, however, both style and types as-
sociate them with an earlier period; and the fact
that they appear in an extremely worn condition
in our hoard absolutely precludes their having
been struck as late as the second century. With
the possible exception of the ΜΑΝΤΙΑΩΡΟΣ-
ΕΡΕΤΡΙΕΩΝ type the remainder in the Pappa-
dakis hoard may also be of the third century.
Certainly the ΔΗΜΑΡΧΟΣ specimen in our
hoard is very much worn and so suggests a lengthy
period of circulation before burial.

The bulk of the Eretrian coins in the present

¹⁷ Brit. Mus. Cat., p. 98, Nos. 34-6, Pl. XVII, 15.

hoard are of the veiled female head to r. type (our Nos. 106–76), not represented by even a single specimen in the Pappadakis hoard. In condition they range from somewhat worn to very good. All bear the inscription ΕΥΒΟΙΕΩΝ. The latest coins of Eretria in our find are those (Nos. 177–84) with veiled female head to l. and the *recumbent* bull, accompanied by the magistrate's name ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝΙΚΟΣ and the ethnic ΕΡΕΤΡΙΑΙΩΝ. They are all in very fine condition, showing little or no signs of circulation. The style and appearance of the recumbent bull is absolutely identical with the animal depicted on the silver octobols, Brit. Mus. Cat. Pl. XXIII, 10. The two issues must have been more or less contemporaneous.

Indications furnished by the two hoards just discussed show that in the third century B.C. there was surely a larger coinage of bronze at both Chalcis and Eretria than students have hitherto supposed. The usual assumption that, upon the proclamation of freedom by Flamininus in 197 B.C., the cities of Carystus, Chalcis and Eretria commenced to coin extensively is fully borne out.

At Chalcis the last type coined (Pappadakis No. 266; our hoard No. 9) under Macedonian supremacy presents a modification of the older facing head of the Celestial Hera. The type was changed to a profile head of the goddess (our hoard Nos. 10–91) when the city regained its complete freedom at the hands of Flamininus.

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At Eretria the last type coined under the Macedonians was still the old accustomed recumbent bull on the obverse and the two bunches of grapes on the reverse accompanied, in this instance, by EPETPIEΩN instead of the former EYBOIEΩN (Pappadakis Nos. 41–265; our hoard No. 105). Only one issue, signed by ΜΑΝΤΙΑΔΩΡΟΣ is known. Then the types were radically changed to the veiled female head and butting bull. These again bear the old inscription EYBOIEΩN—probably reintroduced when, as we may infer from Livy, XXXIV, 51, Flamininus in 194 B.C. re-established the *koinon* of the Euboeans. Later, with the introduction of the silver issues, the ethnic was again changed to EPETPIEΩN, which continued to the end of the Eretrian autonomous coinage. Only one bronze issue of this new coinage was contained in our hoard (Nos. 177–84), but many more varieties, exhibiting ever deteriorating style, are described in the British Museum Catalogue¹⁸ and elsewhere. All of this suggests that the resumption of *silver* coining at Chalcis and Eretria did not take place immediately after the freeing of these cities by Flamininus (as usually supposed),¹⁹ but, rather, at the time of the occupation of Euboea by Antiochus III in 192–1 B.C. or, more probable still, a few

¹⁸ *Loc. cit.*, p. 124, Nos. 46–7, Pl. XXIII, 13.

¹⁹ Head (Brit. Mus. Cat., *Central Greece*, and *Historia Numorum*), followed by all later writers.

years later, when the renewed silver coinages of the cities of Asia Minor after the battle of Magnesia had begun to make themselves felt in commerce. At that time, then, the Euboean cities participated in the revival of commerce and emulated their Asiatic rivals in the coinage of silver.²⁰

The burial spot of our hoard is unknown. Judging by the fact that the find comprises a more complete series of Eretrian issues than it does of the other two cities, and also that these Eretrian specimens number ninety-three, as against six of Carystus and eighty-five of Chalcis, it may be surmised that, like the Pappadakis hoard, this one, too, was buried somewhere in the territory of Eretria.

The date for the burial of the Pappadakis hoard may tentatively be assigned to the summer of 198 B.C., when the combined forces of the Romans under L. Quinctius Flaminius and of Pergamum under Attalus himself, landed near Eretria, attacked and eventually carried the city by storm.²¹ This event would appear to be a most probable occasion for the hasty burial of such a hoard in the precinct of Isis at Eretria.²² If that be the

²⁰ It is to be noted that in the Babylonian hoard described by Regling (*Hellenistischer Münzschatz aus Babylon*, *Zeitschr. f. Num.*, vol. XXXVIII, 1928, pp. 94 ff.) there were three of these Eretrian tetradrachms, in little-worn condition, mingled with many issues of the Asiatic cities, as well as of Pergamene, Pontic and Seleucid kings.

²¹ Livy, XXXII, 16.

²² Pappadakis, following Head's assignment of all of these

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case, our own hoard must then have been buried some time within the immediately succeeding decade.

This space of time is predicated upon the necessity of allowing a reasonable period for the coin-

Euboean coins to the period after 197 B.C., has of course placed the burial of his hoard well after that date. But he can suggest no likely occasion on which it could have been buried. On the other hand, the association of his hoard with the fall of Eretria seems more natural—in fact, quite obvious. In any case, two things may be assumed as certain. Firstly, the Pappadakis hoard must be older, by several years, than ours as its contents leave off just where ours commence. Secondly, because of what it does contain, it could hardly have been buried before *circa* 198 B.C. On the other hand its contents preclude any idea that it could have been buried later than 198 B.C. by more than a very few years, say (to suggest a possible occasion) during the acquisition of Euboea by Antiochus III in the late autumn of 192 B.C., or his hasty evacuation of the island the following spring. If, for argument's sake, we should envisage the possibility of a burial between 198 and 191 B.C., then it will be necessary to change the suggested date of issue for two of the varieties contained in the hoard. Instead of assigning the latest Chalcidian coin (Pappadakis No. 266 = same issue as our No. 9) and the latest Eretrian coins (Pappadakis Nos. 41–265 = our No. 105) to the end of the Macedonian period, we should then give these coins to the interval between the proclamation of the freedom of Euboea in 197 B.C. and the revival in 194 B.C., under Roman auspices, of the Koinon of the Euboeans. For, be it noted, Pappadakis' Nos. 41–265 (= our No. 105) are struck in the name of the Eretrians, and not in that of the Euboeans. Because of their types and style, however, the present writer prefers to believe these coins to have been issued while the Macedonians were still in control of Euboea and that, as a corollary, the burial of Pappadakis' hoard actually took place just before or during the assault on Eretria by the combined Roman and Pergamene forces.

ing of Nos. 1–6 at Carystus, Nos. 10–91 at Chalcis and Nos. 106–184 at Eretria—all of which issues postdate anything in the Pappadakis find. Above, we have assigned the burial of the Pappadakis hoard to 198 B.C., not only because of the very likely occasion presented by the storming of Eretria in that year, but also because the types of Pappadakis' coins are still those which had long been in favor at both Chalcis and Eretria. In view of this, the sudden and complete change in types represented by such coins of Carystus, Chalcis and Eretria in our hoard as did not occur in Pappadakis' find, may best and most obviously be associated with the great change which took place in the political history of these cities when, in 197 B.C., Flamininus proclaimed their freedom from the long endured subjection to Macedonia. That is to say, the coining of Nos. 1–6, 10–91, 106–184 probably commenced as soon after 197 B.C. as was possible. On the other hand, these copper issues appear to precede, rather than to be contemporary with, the renewed silver issues of the three cities in question.²³ The latter have been largely as-

²³ On Nos. 1–6 the ethnic is *KAPT*, instead of the full *KAPTETION* as found on the silver coins. Similarly, on Nos. 10–91 the ethnic is *XAA*, instead of the *XAAKIDAEON* as on the silver issues. Nos. 106–176 are still in the name of the Euboeans, while the silver coins are struck in the name of the Eretrians. Only on Nos. 177–184 do we find *EPETPIEON* again; but the magistrate *APIETONIKOS* does not occur on the known silver coins.

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signed by Gardner²⁴ to the period of Antiochus III's sojourn in Euboea, 192-1 B.C. The present writer, however, has suggested above that these silver issues more probably followed the departure of Antiochus and were contemporaneous with the great revival of autonomous silver coinages in Asia Minor after the battle of Magnesia (190 B.C.) when the leading cities there recovered their freedom from Seleucid domination. In any case, the considerable number of known varieties comprising these renewed silver coinages of the Euboean cities cannot possibly be compressed into the few winter months when Antiochus resided in Euboea, but must have continued for some time after. Our Nos. 1-6, 10-91, 106-184, which issues apparently preceded the silver, may be assigned to the years which ran from 197/6 down to, at least, 192/1 and possibly down to *circa* 189 B.C. Their place was then taken by the later copper issues which certainly accompanied the silver coinage.

In view of the above, our Euboean hoard may have been buried about the time of the Seleucid occupation of the island, late in 192 B.C., or in connection with Antiochus' hasty evacuation before the advancing Romans in the early summer of 191 B.C. The hoard may even have been interred somewhat later, although there is no known

²⁴ *Loc. cit.* The *Historia Numorum*², pp. 357, 359, 363, gives these silver coins to the longer period from 197 to 146 B.C.

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occasion during the immediately following years of comparative peace with which to connect its burial. It may always happen, too, that a hoard burial is occasioned by personal rather than by political considerations.

II. EPIDAUROS

In March, 1934, there was sent to the author, from Greece, a small hoard—or portions of a hoard—comprising fifty-eight copper coins of Epidaurus and one of Hermione. The hoard is said to have been found, not long previously, near Epidaurus. The coins were for the most part provided with an extremely thin surface coating of an olive-brownish shade, with here and there thicker patches of reddish earth shading into grey. In a great many cases the red tinge of the copper, or the yellowish tinge of the bronze, was exposed over considerable portions of the coin. The specimens thus presented a rather unusual appearance, and had certainly all been found together. Selected specimens of the Epidaurus hoard are illustrated on Plate II.

EPIDAUROS

- 1-22 Laureate head of Asklepios to r. **E** (or **Ξ**¹). Epione standing or walking to l., clad in long chiton, holding a bowl (*phiale*?) in her out-

¹ The monogram, in reverse position, is found only on die *f*.

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stretched l. On die γ
her r. fore-arm and
hand may be seen,
holding a small branch
above the bowl.² On
r., Ξ .

Obv. die, A.	Rev. die α .	\nearrow . Gr. 7.04.
		\nwarrow . Gr. 7.02.
Obv. die, A.	Rev. die β .	\leftarrow . Gr. 6.84.
		\rightarrow . Gr. 6.55.
Obv. die, A.	Rev. die γ .	\rightarrow . Gr. 6.54.
		\rightarrow . Gr. 5.63.
Obv. die, A.	Rev. die δ .	\uparrow . Gr. 6.82.
		\downarrow . Gr. 6.62.
		\rightarrow . Gr. 5.36.
		\uparrow . Gr. 5.24.
		\swarrow . Gr. 4.93.
Obv. die B.	Rev. die ε .	\rightarrow . Gr. 4.92.
		\swarrow . Gr. 4.88.
Obv. die B.	Rev. die ζ . ³	\uparrow . Gr. 7.17.
		\nearrow . Gr. 5.72.
		\rightarrow . Gr. 5.44.
		\rightarrow . Gr. 4.64.
		\uparrow . Gr. 4.45.
Obv. die C.	Rev. die ξ .	\downarrow . Gr. 5.82.
		\swarrow . Gr. 5.82.
Obv. die C.	Rev. die η .	\nearrow . Gr. 5.06.
Obv. die C.	Rev. die θ .	\leftarrow . Gr. 4.49.

² Not "pouring from a phial into a patera" as described by Gardner in the Brit. Mus. Cat., *Peloponnesus*, p. 157, No. 8.

³ Same reverse die as Brit. Mus. Cat. *Peloponnesus*, Pl. xxix, 15.

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23-28 Laureate head of Apollo⁴ to r. E Thymiaterion. On either side, a cupping-vase. On r., E.
 All of these specimens are struck from the same obverse die (A). Rev. die α. ↙. Gr. 4.66.
 ↗. Gr. 4.51.
 ↘. Gr. 3.00.
 Rev. die β. ↘. Gr. 3.83.
 ↗. Gr. 3.26.
 Rev. die γ. ↙. Gr. 5.30.

29-41 Laureate head of Asklepios to r. E¹ above dog reclining to r. Dies α to γ inclusive have exergual lines, the remainder not. In the exergue, E.

Obv. die, A—Rev. die, α.	←. Gr. 2.11.
Obv. die, B—Rev. die, β.	↖. Gr. 2.03.
Obv. die, C—Rev. die, γ.	↖. Gr. 3.69.
	←. Gr. 3.27.
	↑. Gr. 2.63.
	↖. Gr. 2.41.
Obv. die, C—Rev. die, δ.	↑. Gr. 3.50.
	↘. Gr. 3.03.
Obv. die, C—Rev.	

⁴ This is the same variety as Brit. Mus. Cat., *Peloponnesus*, p. 158, No. 23, where, however, the head is described as that of Asklepios. On our better preserved coins the head is certainly intended for that of Apollo. It is true, though, that Apollo's jaw is rather heavy, which fact, on a worn or corroded coin, would give it the semblance of being bearded.

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die, ε.	↘. Gr. 2.56.
Obv. die, C—Rev.	
die, ϕ.	↗. Gr. 3.35.
Obv. die, C—Rev.	↘. Gr. 3.01.
die, ζ.	→. Gr. 2.50.
	↓. Gr. 1.58.
41a-42 Laureate head r., as above.	☐ above coiled serpent r. In the exergue, ☒
Obv. die, A—Rev.	↓. Gr. 1.98.
die, α.	↓. Gr. 1.74.
43-44 Similar to the preceding.	Similar to the preceding, but in the exergue, —. ⁵
Obv. die, B—Rev.	
die, β.	→. Gr. 1.76.
Obv. die, B—Rev.	
die, γ.	↗. Gr. 1.73.
45 Similar to the preceding but of lower relief and better style.	Coiled serpent to r. In the exergue, ☐. ¹
	↗. Gr. 2.18.
46-47 Laureate head of Asklepios to l. Fairly good, early style.	☒ in laurel wreath. Both specimens are very worn.
	↖. Gr. 1.52.
	↗. Gr. 1.44.
48 Similar, but head of good style to r.	Similar to the preceding. In the exergue, ☒.
	↘. Gr. 1.30.

⁵ Perhaps intended for the monogram ☒, as in style and fabric these pieces are identical with Nos. 1 to 42.

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- | | | |
|-------|--|---|
| 49 | Similar head, of fair style, to r. | Similar to the preceding. In the exergue, Σ .
→. Gr. 1.13. |
| 50. | Similar to the preceding. | Similar to the preceding. In the exergue, Π .
↖. Gr. 1.79. |
| 51-52 | Similar to the preceding. | Similar but without any letter in the exergue. Both specimens are very worn.
↖. Gr. 2.01.
↑. Gr. 1.73. |
| 53-56 | Similar to preceding but style is less good and most similar to that of Nos. 1 to 45.
Obv. die, A—Rev. die, α .
Obv. die, B—Rev. die, β .
Obv. die, C—Rev. die, γ . | E in laurel wreath, as above.

↗. Gr. 1.58.

↗. Gr. 1.31.
↙. Gr. 1.61.
→. Gr. 1.23. |

HERMIONE

370-300 B.C.

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------------|--|
| 57 | Head of Demeter crowned with wheat. | Lighted torch between E and P, all within wreath of wheat. <i>B.M.C. Peloponnesus</i> , No. 8, Pl. XXX, 4.
↗. Gr. 1.73. |
|----|-------------------------------------|--|

The coins have been catalogued according to type, commencing with the largest denomination. In our hoard only those of the smallest denomination (type: city's initial contained in a wreath, Nos. 46-56) cover an extended period of time. These have been arranged according to their age, commencing with the most worn—which are also the best in style. Nearly all the remainder represent the coinage produced under one magistrate, signing himself with the monogram $\overline{\text{TE}}$. Being comparatively numerous, it has been possible to subdivide the latter according to the dies employed in their production. The bulk of the hoard, in fact, is comprised of the issues of this official. Of the fifty-six coins of Epidaurus, forty-two actually bear his monogram; and, in addition, six more (Nos. 43-4, 53-6) are so similar in style and fabric that we may consider their dies to have been cut by the same workman and the coins themselves to have been issued under $\overline{\text{TE}}$'s supervision. The issue in question was obviously a large one. This fact is attested by the quantity of specimens extant, by the large number of dies employed, and by the impression which these dies produce of having been brought out in hurried circumstances. While some are still of fairly good style, the majority are more or less crude—the handiwork of unskilled die-cutters.

As the issues signed by $\overline{\text{TE}}$ are the best preserved in the hoard, it may reasonably be surmised

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that they represent the last coinage at Epidaurus before the hoard's burial. Basing our conclusions on the amount of circulation exhibited by the various coins before us, as well as on the style and character of their die-cutting, the original order of issue may be more or less the following: Nos. 46-47, 51-52, 48, 49, 50, 45, the latter then followed by the coinages bearing the monogram of $\overline{\text{TE}}$ i.e. Nos. 1-44, together with their companion pieces Nos. 53-56.



FIG. 1



FIG. 2

The silver coins of Epidaurus have all been assigned by the *Historia Numorum*, 2nd edition, to

the period "*Circ.* B.C. 350–323 or later." Percy Gardner⁶ divides the silver issues into two groups. The small denominations (obv. Heads of Asklepios or of Apollo; Rev. Ε or Ε in wreath) he gives to 370–323 B.C.,⁷ the drachms with the seated Asklepios reverse (cf. figs. 1 and 2) he gives to 323–240 B.C. Wroth, in publishing⁸ the British Museum example of fig. 1, calls attention to the article by Dr. Gurlitt⁹ who there shows that the chryselephantine statue of Asklepios at Epidaurus, the work of Thrasymedes of Parium, could not have been produced before 350 B.C. The reverses of figs. 1 and 2 are evidently based upon this famous work of art. Wroth contends, therefore, that the earliest possible date at which coins similar to fig. 1 could have been struck was 350 B.C. and that they may be twenty years later. To him the Apollo drachm (fig. 2) seems "somewhat later but not later than the early part of the 3rd century." It is to be noted that on both of these coins Asklepios is seated with his right foot drawn back behind his left. This scheme of representation does not seem to have been used on

⁶ Brit. Mus. Cat., *Peloponnesus*, p. 156.

⁷ They extend down to at least as late as this, as four specimens occurred in the 1903 Epidaurus hoard which was buried about 287–281 B.C. Cf. Noe, *A Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*, p. 89, where is listed the literature concerning this find.

⁸ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1892, pp. 14–15.

⁹ *Arch.-epig. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, XIV (1891), pp. 128–130.

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coins until about the time of Alexander's death. On by far the greatest portion of the life-time silver issues of Alexander the old scheme obtains of the god's legs still placed in a parallel position. Only on a few of the coins struck just preceding Alexander's death does the new style appear—but within a bare five or six years it becomes practically universal throughout his empire. As autonomous issues of the period are greatly influenced by the Alexander coinage, we may say that coins such as figs. 1 and 2 could hardly have been produced before *circa* 323 B.C., at the earliest. On the other hand, the style exhibited by these drachms supports Wroth's belief that they were not coined later than the early part of the third century B.C.

The Apollo head on our coins Nos. 23–8 appears to the writer to be copied, by a much inferior artist, from the head on the drachms (fig. 2). We thus secure a date, *postquem*, for the issues signed by $\overline{\text{TE}}$. Indeed, their crude die-cutting practically precludes their having been produced in the fourth century B.C., while a third century date seems far more probable. As stated above, $\overline{\text{TE}}$'s issues are the latest in the hoard. This would place its burial well within the third century B.C., perhaps about 280 B.C. Very much later than this we can hardly go, because of the presence in the hoard of the Hermione coin (No. 57) whose issue is placed by Gardner¹⁰ between

¹⁰ Brit. Mus. Cat., *Peloponnesus*, pp. 160–1.

370 and 300 B.C. and by Head,¹¹ more closely, at 350–322 B.C. This specimen is somewhat worn, more so than the issues of $\overline{\text{T}\overline{\text{E}}}$ but not nearly so much as some of the other Epidaurus pieces, such as Nos. 46–8, 51–2. It is worn to about the same degree as Nos. 49–50.

We may best leave matters with this tentative date of about 280 B.C., until future finds shall have brought more evidence upon which to base conclusions. Whether or not it is pure coincidence that the date we have thus arrived at is somewhat in accord with the date suggested¹² for the burial of the 1903 Epidaurus silver hoard, we cannot say. It is quite possible that one and the same specific event, or general situation, brought about the interment of the two hoards.

¹¹ *Historia Numorum*, 2nd edit., p. 442.

¹² Newell, *Tyrus Rediviva*, N. Y., 1923, p. 11.

III. MYTILENE

The second hoard, mentioned above as having been purchased from C. Christodoulos in 1909, comprised one hundred and seventy-nine bronze coins of Mytilene. The pieces in question are all of one type, similar to the British Museum Catalogue, *Troas*, etc., p. 192, Nos. 96 ff. None of them, however, bear the counter-stamps which are present on all of the specimens described in that publication.

The coins contained in our hoard are in very good condition throughout, showing little if any wear. For the most part, too, the corrosion which has affected their surfaces is but slight and of a similar shade and consistency for all of the pieces. It is obvious that they must have been found together and so, as claimed by Christodoulos, have come from a single find.

On the obverse is a laureate head of Apollo, of typical Hellenistic style, to right, with his hair done in a roll at the nape of his neck and three thin strands hanging down. On the reverse is a long narrow lyre, with the letters M Y above, while T and I are to right and left, respectively. Below, on the left, is the monogram TM ; on the right is AI . With only two exceptions (XXX-72

and XL-94) the dies are invariably fixed in the position $\uparrow \nwarrow$. The exceptions have their dies placed $\uparrow \nearrow$.

In view of the fact that the magistrates' monograms are the same on all the coins, it is evident that the latter form part of one general issue only. Hence it is not surprising that, from first to last, the style and details of design vary remarkably little, suggesting that the same die-cutters continued to be employed throughout the entire issue. The coinage may not have covered more than a year or two at most. Careful inspection and comparison reveal that the Apollo heads show a slowly decreasing relief, together with a slight increase in size and a growing carelessness in execution. The lyre, also, tends to grow in size as the issue progresses, to lose some of its slim proportions and delicacy of execution.

In our catalogue, below, the coins themselves have been arranged according to the preceding observations. Other criteria for placing the individual pieces chronologically are not available, as the coins show about the same amount of wear throughout; and it has proved impossible, with but one exception, to establish reverse die mulings between any two obverse dies. This one exception is represented by the reverse die No. 59, which was used in conjunction with both XXVI and XXVII. To produce the one hundred and seventy-nine coins before us, forty-seven obverse dies

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and one hundred and nineteen reverse dies were employed. Each obverse die has been given a roman numeral, each reverse die an arabic one.

<i>Obverse die</i>	<i>Reverse die</i>	<i>Specimens</i>	<i>Weights</i>
I	1	2	3.49; 3.76 (Plate III, 1).
	2	1	4.15.
	3	1	3.81 (Plate III, 2).
II	4	2	3.40; 4.05 (Plate III, 3).
	5	1	4.12 (Plate III, 4).
	6	1	3.34.
III	7	1	3.62 (Plate III, 5).
IV	8	2	3.91; 4.48 (Plate III, 6).
V	9	1	4.34 (Plate III, 7).
	10	1	3.99.
	11	1	3.81.
	12	1	3.86 (Plate III, 8).
	13	3	3.71; 3.98; 4.60.
VI	14	4	3.74; 3.94; 4.40; 5.06 (Plate III, 9).
	15	2	3.95; 4.18.
	16	1	3.79 (Plate III, 10).
	17	1	3.81.
	18	1	3.81.
	19	1	4.06 (Plate III, 11).
VII	20	2	4.37; 4.36 (Plate III, 12).
VIII	21	3	4.57; 4.75; 5.60.
	22	2	4.31; 4.63.
	23	1	5.09 (Plate III, 13).
	24	1	5.07.

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<i>Obverse die</i>	<i>Reverse die</i>	<i>Specimens</i>	<i>Weights</i>
IX	25	2	3.94; 4.24 (Plate III, 14).
X	26	1	3.72 (Plate III, 15).
	27	1	5.21.
XI	28	3	4.46; 4.58; 3.96 (Plate III, 16).
	29	1	4.15.
	30	1	3.85 (Plate III, 17).
XII	31	2	4.11; 3.98 (Plate III, 18).
XIII	32	1	4.67 (Plate III, 19).
	33	1	4.48.
	34	2	2.81; 4.14.
XIV	35	1	5.16 (Plate III, 20).
XV	36	2	3.95; 4.45 (Plate III, 21).
	37	1	4.37.
XVI	38	1	4.86 (Plate IV, 1).
	39	2	4.13; 4.24.
XVII	40	1	4.32 (Plate IV, 2).
	41	1	3.47.
	42	1	3.04.
XVIII	43	1	4.41 (Plate IV, 3).
XIX	44	1	3.23 (Plate IV, 4).
XX	45	1	3.96 (Plate IV, 5).
	46	1	4.56.
	47	2	4.75; 4.46 (Plate IV, 6).

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<i>Obverse die</i>	<i>Reverse die</i>	<i>Speci- mens</i>	<i>Weights</i>
XXI	48	2	3.34; 4.38 (Plate IV, 7).
	49	1	3.95 (Plate IV, 8).
	50	1	4.31 (Plate IV, 9).
	51	1	3.93.
XXII	52	3	4.47; 3.93; 3.33 (Plate IV, 10).
	53	1	4.40 (Plate IV, 11).
XXIII	54	1	4.45 (Plate IV, 12).
XXIV	55	3	3.11; 4.83; 3.94 (Plate IV, 13).
	56	1	4.41.
	57	1	3.86.
XXV	58	1	4.48 (Plate IV, 14).
XXVI	59	1	4.34 (Plate IV, 15).
	60	1	4.45.
XXVII	59	1	3.40 (Plate IV, 16).
XXVIII	61	1	3.86 (Plate IV, 17).
	62	1	4.03.
XXIX	63	1	4.68 (Plate IV, 18).
	64	1	3.83.
	65	2	3.84; 4.64.
XXX	66	3	3.79; 4.01; 4.27 (Plate IV, 19).
	67	2	3.68; 4.59.
	68	4	3.28; 4.16; 4.25; 3.18 (Plate IV, 20).
	69	2	4.07; 4.29 (Plate IV, 21).

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<i>Obverse die</i>	<i>Reverse die</i>	<i>Speci- mens</i>	<i>Weights</i>
XXX	70	2	4.06; 4.50.
	71	1	4.54 (Plate IV, 22).
	72	1	4.25 (Plate IV, 23).
XXXI	73	1	4.45 (Plate V, 1).
	74	2	4.88; 5.34.
XXXII	75	3	3.69; 3.74; 4.07 (Plate V, 2).
	76	3	3.94; 4.18; 4.37.
	77	3	3.65; 3.88; 5.25.
	78	1	4.02.
	79	1	3.85.
XXXIII	80	2	4.62; 4.30 (Plate V, 3).
	81	1	4.25.
XXXIV	82	3	3.48; 4.55; 5.79 (Plate V, 4).
XXXV	83	1	3.91 (Plate V, 5).
	84	1	4.64 (Plate V, 6).
	85	3	3.93; 5.21; 3.80 (Plate V, 7).
XXXVI	86	5	3.58; 3.90; 4.26; 4.43; 3.95 (Plate V, 8).
	87	1	4.57.
	88	2	4.39; 5.47.
XXXVII	89	1	4.74 (Plate V, 9).
XXXVIII	90	2	4.04; 5.43 (Plate V, 10).
	91	1	4.23.
XXXIX	92	1	3.47 (Plate V, 11).
	93	1	3.23.

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<i>Obverse die</i>	<i>Reverse die</i>	<i>Speci- mens</i>	<i>Weights</i>
XL	94	1	4.12 (Plate V, 12).
XLI	95	1	3.67 (Plate V, 13).
	96	1	3.37.
	97	1	3.98.
	98	1	4.58.
	99	1	4.04.
XLII	100	1	4.40 (Plate V, 14).
	101	1	5.06.
	102	1	4.10 (Plate V, 15).
XLIII	103	2	4.01; 3.57 (Plate V, 16).
	104	1	4.32.
XLIV	105	1	3.67 (Plate V, 17).
XLV	106	2	3.19; 3.81 (Plate V, 18).
XLVI	107	2	3.14; 4.04 (Plate V, 19).
	108	2	3.41; 4.72.
	109	1	4.08.
	110	1	3.92.
	111	1	3.81.
	112	1	2.60.
XLVII	113	1	3.79 (Plate V, 20).
	114	3	4.17; 4.42; 3.97 (Plate V, 21).
	115	1	4.06.
	116	1	5.05 (Plate V, 22).
	117	1	4.27.
	118	1	4.75.
	119	1	4.06.

The fact that the preceding pieces are all in a similar state of preservation, and that, furthermore, they do not bear the usual countermarks with which these particular coins are almost invariably provided, suggest that our coins were hoarded and buried soon after their issue. An exactly similar hoard is stated by Koldewey to have been found in 1888 in the ruins of an ancient villa near the modern town of Karini, two and a quarter hours from Mytilene on the highroad from that city to Ajassu.¹ The Karini hoard contained several hundred (*einige hundert*) Mytilinean bronze coins of the same types and description as the present pieces. Dr. Dressel, in describing them for Koldewey, makes no mention of any counterstamps. It is to be presumed, therefore, that, like our own coins, they possessed none.

Were it not for the long lapse of time between the finding of the Karini hoard (1888) and the purchase of our pieces (1909), one would be greatly tempted to claim that they all represent one and the same hoard. In fact, such may actually be the truth. In the first place, coins of this type without countermarks are distinctly unusual.² In

¹ *Lesbos*, pp. 40, 41.

² In a very hasty survey of available catalogues, the writer found countermarked coins of this type in twelve collections (British Museum, McClean, Seyffert, Waddington, Imhoof-Blumer, Leake, Athens, de Luynes, Hunter, Turin, Copenhagen, Hedevar, Fontana) but non-countermarked coins definitely in only three (Sir Herman Weber, Waddington 1391,

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the second place, the one hundred and seventy-nine coins in the present lot and the "couple of hundred" in the Karini find seem suspiciously close in number. It is a well known fact that Christodoulos drew from sources in the Greek Islands and even in Asia Minor, as well as from Greece proper. As the writer has been unable to discover what actually became of the Karini hoard, it is just possible that, for the most part at least, it eventually found its way into the hands of Christodoulos.

The opinions as to the probable date of issue of the type in question differ considerably. Dressel³ believed them to have been struck after 200 B.C., while Wroth⁴ gives excellent reasons for placing them in the period 250–200 B.C. Supposing them to be not identical, neither our hoard, nor that of Karini, presents any internal evidence—other than that outlined by Wroth for the coins themselves—which would enable us to date the interment closer than at some point after *circa* 250 B.C.

Molthein 2091–2)—while the somewhat superficial description of the coins in the Welzl de Wellenheim and Lavy catalogues leaves it rather open to doubt whether these particular pieces were actually countermarked or not.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 41.

⁴ Brit. Mus. Cat., *Troas, Aeolis and Lesbos*, pp. 192–3.

IV. MAGNESIA AD MAEANDRUM

Another hoard of bronze coins was received by the writer in March, 1934. It was said to have been found near Magnesia in 1933, and consisted of the following forty-six coins. There are no means of knowing whether these constituted the complete hoard or not.

Selected specimens of the Magnesia hoard are illustrated on Plate VI.

MAGNESIA AD MAEANDRUM

3rd century B.C.

A

Large Denomination

Size in mm. 15-18.

Weights in grammes, 3.12-5.50.

Obverse

Horseman, wearing helmet, cuirass and flying chlamys, holding couched spear in r., on prancing horse to r. Beneath horse sometimes letters. No border.

Reverse

ΜΑΓΝ (sometimes ΜΑΓ) above humped bull butting l. In the exergue, magistrate's name. The whole within circular Maeander pattern (sometimes absent on coins with small flans).

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(a) Single Name.

1. ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΣ. ⚭. Gr. 5.24. Worn.
2. ΚΥΔΡΟΚΛΗΣ. ⚭. Gr. 3.80. Worn.
3. ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΣ. ♀. Gr. 3.12. Good.

(b) Magistrate's Name with Patronymic.

4. ΑΝΑΞΙΠΠ... Ε..ΡΟΥ. ⚭. Gr. 3.95. Good.
5. ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ (Α)ΠΟΛΛΩΝ. ♂. Gr. 5.17. Good.
6. ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔ... ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩ. ♂. Gr. 3.37. Very good.
7. ΑΡΙΣΤΑΓΟ ΖΗΝΟΔΟ. ♂. Gr. 4.04. Very good.
8. ΑΡΙΣΤΕΥΣ ΦΙΛΙΟΥ. ♂. Gr. 4.19. Good.
- 9-10. ΓΟΡΓΑΣΟΣ ΙΠΠΟΚΡΑΤ. ♂. Gr. 4.07; ⚭. Gr. 3.88. Good.
11. ΔΙΟΝΥΣΑΣ ΔΑΙΜΑΧΟ. ⚭. Gr. 3.62. Good.
12. ΔΩΚΕΥΣ ΜΑΙΩΝ. ♂. Gr. 4.04. Very good.
- 13-14. ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΑΓΟΡΟ (on No. 14, ΑΡΙΣΤΑΓ). ♂. 4.09 and 3.50. Very good.
- 15-16. ΗΓΗΣΑΓΟΡΑΣ ΕΥΧΩΡΟΥ. ♂. Gr. 3.86 and 3.59. Good.
17. ΗΡΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥ. ♂. Gr. 5.21. Very good.
18. ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟ ΘΕΟ.... ⚭. Gr. 5.00. Good.
19. ΚΤΕΑΤΟΣ ΖΩΠΥΡ.. ⚭. Gr. 3.89. Good.
20. ΚΥΔΙΑΣ ΙΣΑΓΟ.. ♂. Gr. 3.65. Good.
21. ΜΟΙΡΑΓΟΡΑΣ ΜΙΩΜΗΤ(?). ♂. Gr. 4.19. Very good.
22. ΝΙΚΗΡΑΤΟΣ ΜΟΛΟΣΣΟΥ. ♂. Gr. 4.05. Good.
23. ΠΡΩΤΙΩΝ ΑΝΔΡΟΤΙΜΟΥ. ⚭. Gr. 3.92. Very good.
24. ΣΤΡΑΤΟΚΛ ΜΑΝΔΡΟ. ♂. Gr. 4.26. Fine.
25. ΦΙΛΙΣΚΟΣ ΖΩΒΙΟΥ. ⚭. Gr. 4.28. Fine.

(c) Additional Letters on Obverse.

26. Obv. ΑΘ. Rev. ΑΝΔΡΩ ΖΗΝ. ⚭. Gr. 3.29.
Fine.
27. Obv. ΠΥ. Rev. ΑΡΙΣΤ..... ⚭. Gr. 3.84.
Very good.
28. Obv. Π. Rev. ΔΗΜΑΓΟΡΑΣ (ΔΗ)ΜΟΧΑΡΙ-
ΔΟΣ. ↑. Gr. 4.31. Very good.
- 29-30. Obv. ΘΕ. Rev. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.
⚭. Gr. 4.41 and 3.70. Fine.
31. Obv. (?). Rev. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.
↑. Gr. 4.14. Good.
32. Obv. ΠΥ. Rev. ΕΠΗΡΑΤΟ(Σ) ΜΟΡΙΜ(ΟΥ).
⚭. Gr. 3.57. Very good.
- 33-34. Obv. ΘΕ. Rev. ΕΡΜΩΝΑΞ ΑΝΔΡΟΤ. ⚭.
Gr. 5.50 and 3.54. Fine.
- 35-36. Obv. Γ. Rev. ΖΩΠΥΡΙΩΝ ΠΥΘΑΓΟ. ↗
and ⚭. Gr. 4.80 and 4.43. Fine and very good.
- 37-38. Obv. Ζ. Rev. ΖΩΠΥΡΙΩΝ ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΟ. ⚭.
Gr. 3.64 and 3.39. Fine.
39. Obv. Π. Rev. ΖΩΠΥΡΙΩΝ ΠΥΘΑΓΟ. ↑. Gr.
3.47. Very good.
40. Obv. ΘΕ. Rev. (ΠΡ)ΩΤΙΩΝ (ΑΝΔ)ΡΟΤΙ-
ΜΟΥ. ⚭. Gr. 4.12. Fine.

B

Small Denomination

Size in mm. 11-12.

Weights in grammes, 1.92-2.52.

Obverse

Similar to the preceding,
but enclosed in a dotted
circle. No letters.

Reverse

ΜΑΓΝΗ. Type similar
to the preceding. On
Nos. 45-46 the ethnic is
"off flan."

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- 41-44. ΕΡΜΩΝΑΞ ΕΡΜΩΝΑ. ⚭. Gr. 1.94. ↑. Gr. 2.10. ⚭. Gr. 2.52 and 1.92. Fine.
 45. ΙΠΠΟΚΡ ΠΥΘ... ⚭. Gr. 1.96. Very good.
 46. (ΜΕ)ΝΕΛΑΟΣ (ΑΝ)ΤΙΓ(ΟΝΟΥ). ↑. Gr. 1.95. Good.

These coins had obviously all been found together, and were so claimed by the dealer from whom they were purchased. In color and type of corrosion they are all alike, being only partially covered with a very thin verdigris of a greenish-olive tint. Before brushing they also were encrusted with soft, lightly adhering, faun-colored dirt, giving them a rather distinctive appearance.

The first thing about this little hoard that strikes the observer is the unusually large proportion of names whose occurrence on the coins of Magnesia has not as yet been recorded. Assuming that ΑΡΙΣΤ.... (No. 27) might be the same person as ΑΡΙΣΤΕΥΣ ΦΙΛΙΟΥ (No. 8), and ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΣ (No. 1) as ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΣ ΘΕΟ.... (No. 18), we have here the names of thirty individuals. Of these no less than sixteen¹ are not

¹ The hitherto unrecorded names are: (1) ΑΝΑΣΙΠ Π Ε... ΡΟΥ. (2) ΑΝΔΡΩ ΖΗΝ. (3) ΑΡΙΣΤΑΓΟ ΖΗΝΟΔΟ. (4) ΓΟΡΓΑΣΟΣ ΙΠΠΟΚΡΑΤ. (5) ΔΩΚΕΣ ΜΑΙΩΝ. (6) ΕΠΗΡΑΤΟ ΜΟΡΙΜ. (7) ΕΡΜΩΝΑΞ ΕΡΜΩΝΑ. (8) ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΑΓΟΡΟ. (9) ΖΩΠΤΡΙΩΝ ΠΤΘΑΓΟ. (10) ΗΓΗΣΑΓΟΡΑΣ ΕΤΧΩΡΟΥ. (11) ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΣ. (12) ΙΠΠΟΚΡ ΠΤΘ. (13) ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ. (14) ΜΟΙΡΑΓΟΡΑΣ ΜΙΟΜΗΤ. (15) ΝΙΚΗΡΑΤΟΣ ΜΟΛΟΣΣΟΥ. (16) ΣΤΡΑΤΟΚΛ ΜΑΝΔΡΟ. The names are here given exactly as they are found on the coins themselves i.e.

known to R. Münsterberg who, in his *Beamtennamen auf den griechischen Münzen*, gives a compendium of the names published or otherwise known down to 1927. There is thus secured, at one stroke, a considerable addition to our numismatic "directory" for Magnesia ad Maeandrum. We are also enabled to correct or to complete two patronymics given by our predecessors. The father of ΖΩΠΥΡΙΩΝ (Nos. 35-9) is hesitatingly given by the British Museum Catalogue, *Ionia*, p. 160, No. 22 as ΠΥΡ(?). The name can be clearly read on our coins as ΠΥΘΑΓΟ and ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΟ. Similarly the father's name of ΦΙΛΙΣΚΟΣ (No. 25) is reasonably suggested by Münsterberg, p. 30, as Ζω (π?...); but on our coin the name is certainly ΖΩΒΙΟΥ.

The coins themselves do not aid much in dating the probable burial of the hoard. If there had been present more closely datable coins of Magnesia, or of other cities or kings, they did not reach the writer. Our coins are all obviously of third century style and fabric. The type as a whole (obverse, horseman; reverse, butting bull) has been assigned by Head² to the long period

not always completed. This incompleteness may sometimes be due to the fact that the design is partially off flan, but at other times the name had not been completed on the original die because of lack of available space.

² Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, *Ionia*, pp. 158-161.

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from 350 to 190 B.C. Our hoard, however, does not cover this entire period as no specimen, which by style belongs to the fourth century B.C., appears therein. We are probably justified in stating that none of them antedate the year 281 B.C. In a forthcoming work the present author describes a large quantity of gold, silver and bronze coins of royal types coined at Magnesia by Lysimachus, leaving no room for an autonomous coinage under his reign. It is not likely that this ruler would have allowed autonomous issues to be coined there, in any case. Hence the period, during which our particular specimens appeared, can be limited to the years which ran from Lysimachus' death in 281 B.C. to the battle of Magnesia in 190 B.C. an event that caused a series of new types to be introduced.

A careful study of the coins contained in the Magnesian hoard allows them to be divided into the following three groups: (a) Those which bear a single name; (b) Those which add the father's name; (c) Those which continue this practice but which bear, in addition, two initial letters of another name on the obverse.³ Considerations of style and of the variations in amount of circula-

³ It will be noted that the magistrate ΠΡΩΤΙΩΝ ΑΝΔΡΟΤΙΜΟΤ occurs in both groups (cf. Nos. 23 and 40). It may be that No. 23 also once had the initial letters on its obverse, but if so, they happen to be completely "off flan" on this particular specimen. No traces of letters are now visible on the coin.

tion to which the coins have been subjected, allow us to state that these three groups appeared in the order here given. The condition of the coins (Nos. 1-3) in group 'a' may be described as good to very good; that of group 'b' (Nos. 4-25) as good with a larger proportion of very good, and some even in fine condition; that of group 'c' (Nos. 26-40) as distinctly the best preserved of all three, all the coins being in very good or fine condition. The small denominations (Nos. 41-46) bear no letters on their obverses, but as the coins range from good to fine they may be considered as having appeared contemporaneously with both groups 'b' and 'c'.

It is interesting to note further how greatly our hoard increases the list of those magistrates who add their father's name to their own. For instance, in the British Museum Catalogue we find ten⁴ bronze coins of the horseman-bull type bearing but a single name, as against five with the two names. In Münsterberg's lists, if we count only the bronze coins of the horseman-bull type, we find thirty-five single as against twenty-three double names given. In the present hoard we have only three single names (two of which were previously known) in comparison to the thirty

⁴ This figure does not include No. 29 which, because of the two letters appearing on the obverse, probably belongs to our group 'c', the father's name being off flan on this particular specimen.

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double names, of which thirteen were known, one is uncertain and sixteen are new.

In the British Museum collection⁵ only one specimen of the bronze coins (No. 29 in the catalogue) presents letters on the obverse. Taking into consideration the large number of single names recorded on the bronze coins of that collection, it may be surmised that the British Museum series largely covers the early portion of our period. As the present hoard contains no less than ten distinct varieties with letters on the obverse, together with a still larger number of the immediately preceding issues with no letters at all on the obverse but with the two names on the reverse, we reach the conclusion that the hoard represents the latter end of the coinage in question. Hence, if we should place the burial of our hoard about 200 B.C., or a little later, we may not be far wrong. If this be the case, then it might not seem unreasonable to associate the burial of our hoard with the war between Magnesia and Miletus for the possession of Myus. This war, we know from inscriptions,⁶ taken in conjunction with Polybius, XVI, 24, 9, broke out some time after 200 B.C. and came to an end in 196 B.C. when peace was finally established between the contending parties.

⁵ As Münsterberg does not record the presence of letters (if they occur) on the obverses, we cannot use his lists for purposes of comparison here.

⁶ Rehm, *Milet*, pp. 200 ff.; *Inscr. Milet*, No. 148.

V. HOARD OF PTOLEMAIC BRONZE COINS

Not long before the outbreak of the World War Mr. Robert Orbelliani-Rustafjaell brought to the United States a collection of objects which he had secured in the course of his excavations in Egypt. Added to these were numerous items acquired by purchase or placed on consignment with him by various Egyptian dealers in antiquities. On November 29, 1915, and following days, the entire collection was sold at public auction by The Anderson Galleries, Inc., of New York City.¹ At this sale the writer acquired lot No. 114,² comprising sixty-nine large Ptolemaic copper coins—by their appearance all obviously from a single hoard. The coins in question were said to have come from Lower Egypt, but Mr. Rustafjaell was not certain whether they comprised the entire hoard found or not—probably not.

¹ Catalogue of the Interesting and Valuable Egyptian Collection formed by Mr. Robert de Rustafjaell. The Anderson Galleries. Nov. 29, 30th, Dec. 1st, 1915.

² Lot No. 114 was described in the catalogue as: "A Collection of Roman [*sic!*] Coins. Large and small, from $\frac{3}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. Some look as if they had been melted for they have partially lost their shape and stuck together. Most of the coins are heavily encrusted."

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The coins, at the time they were acquired by the writer, were all covered by an extraordinarily thick coating which was apparently composed of coagulated and hardened mud heavily impregnated with copper verdigris. In nearly all cases this coating was so thick that the types were completely invisible or, at best, only partially visible. In some instances, however, rough handling and the vicissitudes to which the coins had been subjected since discovery had chipped off small flakes of the covering above mentioned, leaving the under surface in these spots comparatively clean and undamaged. This fact led the writer to entertain hopes of the possibility of removing the entire covering of dirt and corrosion by sharp tapping on the coin with a small hammer or similar object. To a certain extent these hopes were justified and a sharp rap, particularly on the edge of the coin, frequently caused large flakes of the corrosion to spring off, leaving the original surface of the coin clear and smooth with a rather handsome, reddish-brown color flecked with green. On the majority of the coins, however, the corrosion proved actually to have eaten into the surface, and the heavy covering described above had become so firmly welded to the coin itself that mere tapping, however sharp, failed to loosen its hold. As the writer did not care to subject the coins to the action of acids (and their problematical results), he laid the entire find aside for future consideration. After

Dr. Colin Fink of Columbia University had published a description of his experiments in the electrolytic cleaning of ancient objects,³ the present writer returned to the now almost forgotten hoard and set about cleaning the remainder. This was finally accomplished with fairly satisfactory results, though in some cases the corrosion proved to have eaten so deeply into the coin that it was impossible, even by electrolytic cleaning, to recover the original surface undamaged. In such instances, while the coin cannot now, in any sense, be termed an object of beauty, at least the details of design and accessory symbols or monograms are sufficiently clear for purposes of study.

As hoards of the heavy Ptolemaic bronze coins have seldom been published⁴ it is probable that a description of this little hoard (or portion of a hoard) will not come amiss to students of the subject. Especially is this the case as it is only by means of hoard analyses that we can definitely prove, disprove or correct the theories and arrangements proposed by J. N. Svoronos in his epoch-making corpus of the Ptolemaic coins: *Τὰ Νομίσματα τοῦ Κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων*. Selected

³ *The Restoration of Ancient Bronzes and Other Alloys*. By Colin G. Fink. New York, 1925.

⁴ Only the following two instances are known to the writer: (1) A large hoard briefly mentioned by Dr. J. Eddé in *Bollettino di Numismatica*, 1905, p. 129; (2) The coins found in a recess in a wall of the Ramesseum and described by J. G. Milne in *Egyptian Research Account*, 1896, p. 13.

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specimens from the hoard are illustrated on Plates VII-IX.

PTOLEMY II PHILADELPHUS

285-246 B.C.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Types</i>
1	46 mm.	<p><i>Obv.</i> Diademed, horned head of Zeus Ammon to r. in circle of dots.</p> <p><i>Rev.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on l., ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ on r. Eagle, wings open, head reverted, standing to l. upon a thunderbolt. Circle of dots around. Svoronos 412. Good. Gr. 81.89.</p>
2	43 mm.	<p><i>Obv.</i> Similar to the preceding.</p> <p><i>Rev.</i> Similar to the preceding. Between the legs of the eagle, Θ. Svoronos 462. Very worn. Gr. 87.74.</p>
3	40 mm.	<p><i>Obv.</i> Similar to the preceding.</p> <p><i>Rev.</i> ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ on l., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r. Two eagles, wings closed, standing to l. upon a thunderbolt. Circle of dots around. Between the legs of the left-hand eagle, Λ. Svoronos 479. Worn. Gr. 59.44.</p>
4-5	41.5 mm.	<p><i>Obv.</i> Similar to the preceding.</p> <p><i>Rev.</i> Similar to the preceding, but with P between the eagle's legs.</p>

FIVE GREEK BRONZE HOARDS 55

<i>No.</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Types</i>
		Svoronos 497. (4) Worn. Gr. 68.83. (5) Good. Gr. 68.24.
6-7	40.5 mm.	<i>Obv.</i> Similar to the preceding. <i>Rev.</i> Similar to the preceding. Letter obliterated. (6) Very worn. Gr. 67.59. (7) Worn. Gr. 65.13.

The preceding coins comprise the two largest denominations (Nos. 1-2 marked by the eagle with open wings, Nos. 3-7 by the two eagles) of the bronze coins associated with the types of Arsinoe II in gold and silver. This issue was shown by Svoronos to have been instituted by Ptolemy II about 270 B.C., continuing until his death in 247 B.C.

PTOLEMY III EUERGETES

246-221 B.C.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Types</i>
		Group I
8-20	48.5 to 45.5 mm.	<i>Obv.</i> Diademed, horned head of Zeus Ammon to r. in a circle of dots. <i>Rev.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on l., ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ on r. Eagle, wings open and head reverted, standing to l. upon a thunderbolt. Between the legs, E. Circle

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<i>No.</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Types</i>	
		of dots around.	Svoronos
		446.	
		(8) Worn.	Gr. 90.13.
		(9) Good.	Gr. 86.50.
		(10) Worn.	Gr. 85.69.
		(11) Worn.	Gr. 84.61.
		(12) Worn.	Gr. 82.91.
		(13) Good.	Gr. 82.84.
		(14) Good.	Gr. 82.67.
		(15) Good.	Gr. 79.90.
		(16) Worn.	Gr. 79.16.
		(17) Very good.	Gr. 79.11.
		(18) Good.	Gr. 79.09.
		(19) Worn.	Gr. 73.73.
		(20) Worn.	Gr. 73.68.
21-24	40.5 to 38 mm.	<i>Obv.</i>	Similar to the preceding.
		<i>Rev.</i>	ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ on l., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on r. Eagle, wings closed, head reverted, filleted cornucopiae on shoulder, standing to l. upon a thunderbolt. Between the legs, E. Circle of dots around. Svoronos 974.
		(21) Good.	Gr. 44.56.
		(22) Good.	Gr. 42.33.
		(23) Worn.	Gr. 44.73.
		(24) Worn.	Gr. 40.68.
Group Ia			
25-28	38.5 to 37 mm.	<i>Obv.</i>	Similar to the preceding.
		<i>Rev.</i>	Similar to the preceding, ex-

FIVE GREEK BRONZE HOARDS 57

<i>No.</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Types</i>
		cept that between the eagle's legs is the monogram Ξ . Variety not recognized by Svoronos.
		(25) Very good. Gr. 45.31.
		(26) Good. Gr. 44.98.
		(27) Very good. Gr. 40.20.
		(28) Very good. Gr. 38.57.

Group II

29	48 mm.	<i>Obv.</i> Similar to the preceding.
		<i>Rev.</i> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the l., ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ on the r. Eagle, wings open and head reverted, standing to l. upon a thunderbolt. Between the legs, Λ . Circle of dots around. Svoronos 478.
		(29) Very good. Gr. 81.59.

Group III

30-37	43.5 to 42 mm.	<i>Obv.</i> Similar to the preceding.
		<i>Rev.</i> ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ on the l., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the r. Eagle, with closed wings, standing to l. upon a thunderbolt. In l. field, Cornucopiae with fillet. Between the legs, \star . Circle of dots around. Svoronos 964.
		(30) Fine. Gr. 67.61.

58 FIVE GREEK BRONZE HOARDS

<i>No.</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Types</i>
		(31) Fine. Gr. 65.06.
		(32) Fine. Gr. 63.44.
		(33) Fine. Gr. 62.88.
		(34) Very good. Gr. 62.33.
		(35) Very good. Gr. 60.48.
		(36) Good. Gr. 58.13.
		(37) Worn. Gr. 54.62.
38-39	35 mm.	<i>Obv.</i> Similar to the preceding.
		<i>Rev.</i> Similar to the preceding.
		Svoronos 965.
		(38) Very good. Gr. 35.07.
		(39) Fine. Gr. 32.84.

Group I, comprising, once more, the two largest denominations, is clearly associated by its mint mark E with the gold issues of Ptolemy III bearing the portrait, name and types of Berenice (Svoronos, Nos. 972-3). Svoronos, for very understandable reasons, assigned coins such as Nos. 8-20 to the preceding issues of Ptolemy II, leaving Ptolemy III without any representatives of this the largest denomination in bronze ever issued by the kings of Egypt. For the following reasons, however, the present writer believes it preferable to group these coins with the Berenice coinage of Ptolemy Euergetes. In the first place, the average condition of Nos. 8-20 is distinctly better than that of Nos. 2-7, which are very much worn indeed. For this same reason No. 1 may also be an issue of Ptolemy III, but for stylistic considera-

tions it has been left among the issues of the second Ptolemy. In their somewhat poorer style and in details of design and execution Nos. 8–20 appear to be much nearer to Nos. 21–28 than to any of the bronze issues of Ptolemy II, and yet Svoronos would assign them to the middle (i.e. 265 B.C.) of that king's reign. If we accept them as the large denomination belonging to the same issue as Nos. 21–4 (as indicated both by similarity of style and the presence of the letter E) they seem to fit into the general scheme of sequence of style and issues better than if put among the coins of Philadelphus. It is to be noted that the Ammon head on the coins of Ptolemy II, such as Nos. 1–7, tends to fill the flan of the coin, allowing comparatively little of the field to show beyond the contours of the head. On Nos. 8–20, on the other hand, the head takes up much less of the field, gradually growing longer and more slender and approaching the type we finally find on Nos. 30–39. While the design and execution of the eagles on Nos. 1–7 are excellent, with the details finished and naturalistic, the eagles on Nos. 8–20 are notably inferior and the details are at times only perfunctorily indicated. In this they are very similar to the eagles on Nos. 21–28.

Group Ia is, apparently, merely the continuation of Nos. 21–24, but the single letter E has been changed to a monogram composed of E and P.

Group II, in our hoard, comprises only one speci-

60 FIVE GREEK BRONZE HOARDS

men of the largest denomination (No. 29) which for the same reasons as outlined above for the E issue has been transferred from the reign of Ptolemy II to that of Ptolemy III. It is marked with the letter Λ and was accompanied by coins exactly similar in types, size and weight to Nos. 21–28 but marked with this same letter Λ . Of this smaller denomination (Svoronos 1166) no specimen chanced to be contained in our hoard—or, at least, in the portion of the hoard which lies before us. This smaller denomination Svoronos has assigned to Ptolemy IV, but that is hardly possible as it is absolutely identical in style, fabric and types as Nos. 21–28 which he assigns, with every show of reason to Euergetes. Because of their particular types they would constitute an anomaly among the coinages of Philopator, but fit in exactly among the coins of his father's reign.

Group III contains the two largest denominations of this beautiful and plentiful issue which Svoronos has shown comprised a total of no less than eight different denominations in bronze (his Nos. 964 to 971) together with gold and silver pentadrachms of Attic weight bearing the name and types of Berenice (his Nos. 962–3). These coins are all of particularly fine style and execution, showing a considerable improvement in this regard over the bronze coins which had immediately preceded them.

FIVE GREEK BRONZE HOARDS 61

PTOLEMY IV PHILOPATOR

221-204 B.C.

Group I

<i>No.</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Types</i>	
40-41	42.5 to 40 mm.	<i>Obv.</i>	Diademed head of Zeus Ammon to r. in a circle of dots.
		<i>Rev.</i>	ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ on l., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on the r. Eagle, with closed wings, standing to l. upon a thunderbolt. In l. field, Cornucopiae bound with a diadem. Between the eagle's feet, ΔΙ. The whole in a circle of dots. Svoronos 1126. (40) Very good. Gr. 66.83. (41) Fine. Gr. 62.50.
42-43	34.5 to 33 mm.	<i>Obv.</i>	Similar to the preceding.
		<i>Rev.</i>	Similar to the preceding. Svoronos 1128. (42) Fine. Gr. 36.36. (43) Good. Gr. 30.65.

Group II

44-57	43.5 to 40.5 mm.	<i>Obv.</i>	Similar to the preceding.
		<i>Rev.</i>	Similar to the preceding. Between the eagle's legs, ΔΙ. Svoronos 1125. (44) Worn. Gr. 72.69. (45) Fine. Gr. 71.96. (46) Good. Gr. 71.07. (47) Good. Gr. 68.06. (48) Good. Gr. 67.58.

62 FIVE GREEK BRONZE HOARDS

<i>No.</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Types</i>
		(49) Fine. Gr. 67.06.
		(50) Fine. Gr. 66.61.
		(51) Good. Gr. 66.32.
		(52) Fine. Gr. 65.72.
		(53) Fine. Gr. 63.83.
		(54) Good. Gr. 61.20.
		(55) Good. Gr. 61.03.
		(56) Fine. Gr. 54.23.
		(57) Good. Gr. 44.05.
Group III		
58-60	42 to 41 mm.	<i>Obv.</i> Similar to the preceding. <i>Rev.</i> Similar to the preceding. In 1. field, Cornucopiae bound with diadem. Between the eagle's legs, Σ . Svoronos 992.
		(58) Fine. Gr. 67.28.
		(59) Fine. Gr. 65.68.
		(60) Fine. Gr. 62.23.
61-65	44.5 to 42 mm.	<i>Obv.</i> Similar to the preceding. <i>Rev.</i> Similar to the preceding, but with ΣE between the eagle's legs. Svoronos 992.
		(61) Very good. Gr. 70.96.
		(62) Very good. Gr. 68.78.
		(63) Fine. Gr. 68.11.
		(64) Fine. Gr. 65.09.
		(65) Good. Gr. 63.81.
66-69	43 to 40 mm.	<i>Obv.</i> Similar to the preceding. <i>Rev.</i> Similar to the preceding but with Σ between the eagle's legs. Svoronos 992.

FIVE GREEK BRONZE HOARDS 63

<i>No.</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Types</i>
		(66) Very good. Gr. 74.86.
		(67) Fine. Gr. 65.41.
		(68) Good. Gr. 64.38.
		(69) Good. Gr. 61.51.

The three groups which comprise the issues of Ptolemy IV in our hoard have been arranged according to style. Group I contains specimens of two denominations, while II and III contain specimens of the largest denomination only. I and II have been correctly associated by Svoronos and given to Ptolemy IV because of the letters ΔΙ (Group II) on gold and silver issues certainly belonging to that king (Svoronos Nos. 1117–1123, incl.).

Group III, marked by the letter Σ, or by variations of a monogram containing the letters Σ and Ε, have been assigned to Ptolemy III by Svoronos^{4a} because a somewhat similar monogram appears on a unique silver coin (Svoronos 991) bearing the name and portrait of Berenice. Style and fabric of the copper coins, however, point rather to the reign of Ptolemy IV—and this is confirmed by the existence of certain rare tetradrachms⁵ bearing the types of that king, accompanied by the letters (or monogram) Ξ. The writer was formerly of the opinion that these particular tetradrachms had

^{4a} See, however, Svoronos, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 177, last two lines on page.

⁵ First published by the present writer in *Two Recent Egyptian Hoards*, Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 33, 1927, p. 4, Nos. 4–6.

64 FIVE GREEK BRONZE HOARDS

immediately preceded the exactly similar ones marked ΔΙ because of the existence of the above-mentioned Berenice coin⁶—but the style of the accompanying bronze coins⁷ precludes this. Furthermore, the bronze denomination next largest in size to the ones in our hoard (i.e., Nos. 58–69) which bear the same magistrates' letters and monograms Ε, ΣΕ or Σ (Svoronos, Nos. 1145, 1148, 1149) are frequently countermarked with a cornucopiae enclosed in a sunken, oblong rectangle (cf. Svoronos, Nos. 1145β, 1149)—and this same countermark appears only on similar coins with varying monograms (Svoronos, Nos. 1140, 1142, 1144) which can belong to Ptolemy IV only.

Our hoard apparently contained only the three heaviest denominations in bronze of the Ptolemaic kings Philadelphus, Euergetes, and Philopator. In contents, as in size, it is almost exactly paralleled by the hoard of sixty-eight Ptolemaic bronze coins found by Quibell in a recess of the great north wall of the Ramesseum at Thebes.⁸ The following is a comparative table of the two hoards. For purposes of comparison, the present writer has taken the liberty of rearranging the Ramesseum coins according to the modified scheme adopted for the catalogue of our own hoard.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*, p. 7.

⁷ Svoronos, Nos. 992–994, Nos. 1145–1152.

⁸ Quibell, *The Ramesseum*. Egyptian Research Account, 1896, p. 13.

FIVE GREEK BRONZE HOARDS 65

<i>Ptolemy II Philadelphus</i>	<i>Our hoard</i>	<i>Ramesseum hoard</i>
Heavy Unit. Single eagle. No letters.	1	2
Heavy Unit. Single eagle. Θ.	1	..
Three-quarter. Two eagles Λ, P or ?	5	..
 <i>Ptolemy III Euergetes</i>		
Heavy Unit. Eagle and Ε.	13	2
Heavy Half. Eagle and Ε.	4	13 ⁹
Heavy Half. Eagle and Ε.	4	..
Heavy Unit. Eagle and Λ.	1	..
Heavy Half. Eagle and Α (= Λ?).	..	1
Light Unit. Eagle and ⌘.	8	8
Light Half. Eagle and ⌘.	2	5
 <i>Ptolemy IV Philopator</i>		
Light Unit. Eagle and ΔΙ.	2	..
Light Half. Eagle and ΔΙ.	2	..
Light Unit. Eagle and ΔΙ.	14	8
Light Half. Eagle and ΔΙ.	..	5
Light Unit. Eagle and ⌘ or ΣΕ.	8	11 ¹⁰
Light Half. Eagle and ⌘.	..	13 ¹⁰
Light Unit. Eagle and Σ.	4	..
	—	—
Total	69	68

⁹ Possibly some of these bore the monogram Ε instead of the plain Ε?

¹⁰ Probably in the Ramesseum catalogue no distinction was made between ⌘, ΣΕ or Σ.

66 FIVE GREEK BRONZE HOARDS

Avoiding the tangled controversy which still rages around the denominations of the Ptolemaic bronze coins and their proper nomenclatures, it has been deemed quite sufficient for our purposes to adopt the simple expedient of dividing the material before us into its most obvious categories, namely into "units," "three-quarters" and "halves." Thus, according to their weights, our Nos. 1, 2, 8–20 and 29 would be "units"; Nos. 3–7 would be "three-quarters"; Nos. 21–28 would be "halves." In the reign of Ptolemy III there came an apparent reduction in weight, which was accompanied—naturally enough—by changed reverse types and also by a greatly improved style. From this point, in both the Ramesseum and our own hoard, the coins have been designated as "light units" and "light halves." Thus, for our hoard, Nos. 30–37 and 44–69 would be "light units," Nos. 38–39 would be "light halves."

Both hoards obviously cover about the same period of time, though the issues of Ptolemies II and III are slightly better represented in ours, those of Ptolemy IV in the Ramesseum hoard. The difference, however, is too slight to have any probable significance. Both hoards seem to have been put away at just about the same time—well before the close of Philopator's reign as neither of them contain such comparatively common Egyptian issues in bronze of this sovereign as Svoronos, Nos. 1140–1144. No doubt the burial of these hoards

(as that of the silver hoard described by the writer in Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 33) was intimately connected with the very serious internal troubles and rebellions which broke over the kingdom in the course of Philopator's reign.¹¹

¹¹ Polyb., XIV, 12. Cf. E. Bevan, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*. London, 1927, pp. 236-41.

P L A T E S

HOARD I—EUBOEAE



1.



2.



8.



9.



32.



33.



36.



47.



82.



HOARD I—EUBOEA

PLATE I



99.



104.



106.



105.



129.



138.



142.



150.



164.



174.



177.



HOARD II — EPIDAUROS

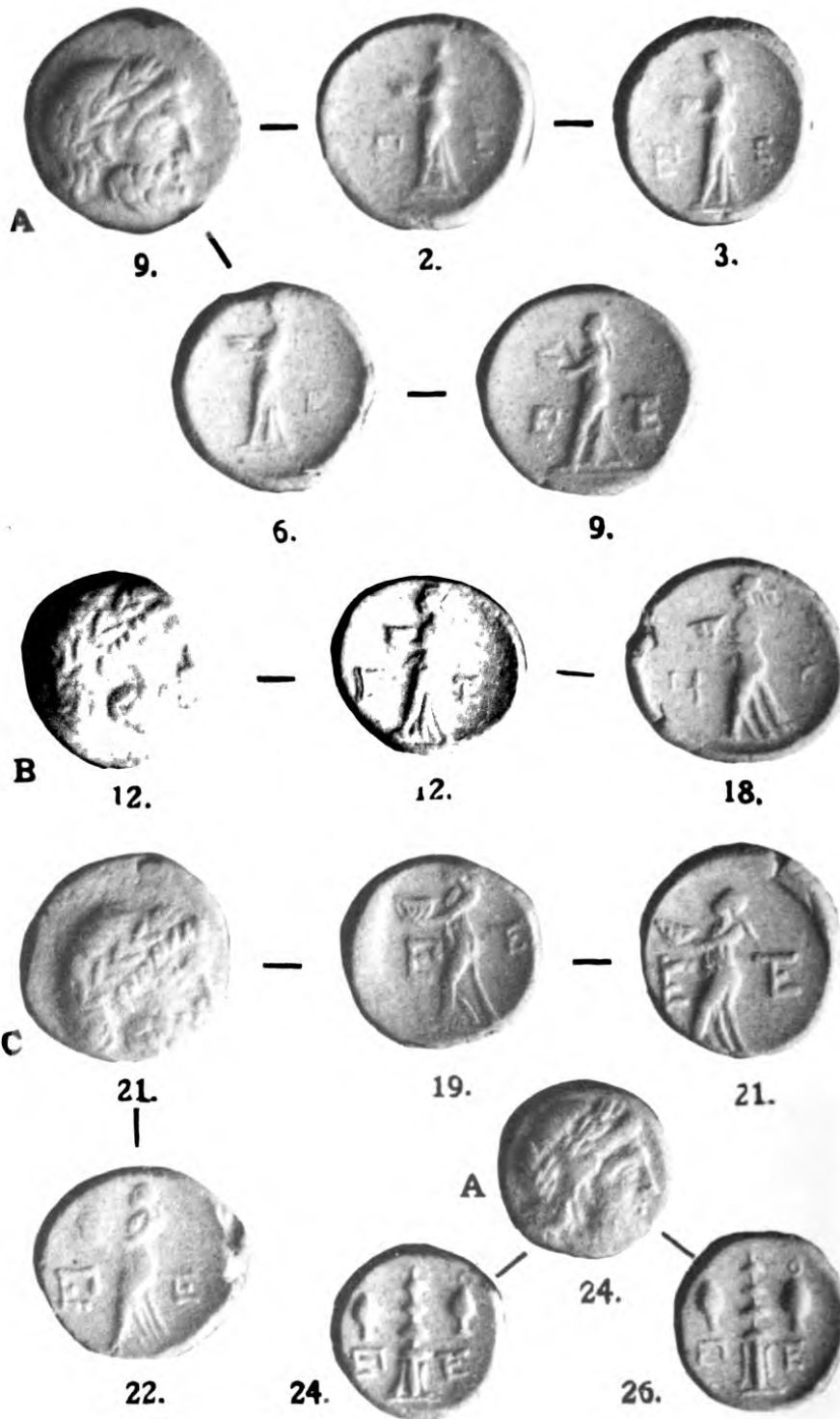


PLATE II



HOARD III—MYTILENE



PLATE III



12.



13.



14.



15.



16.



17.



18.



19.



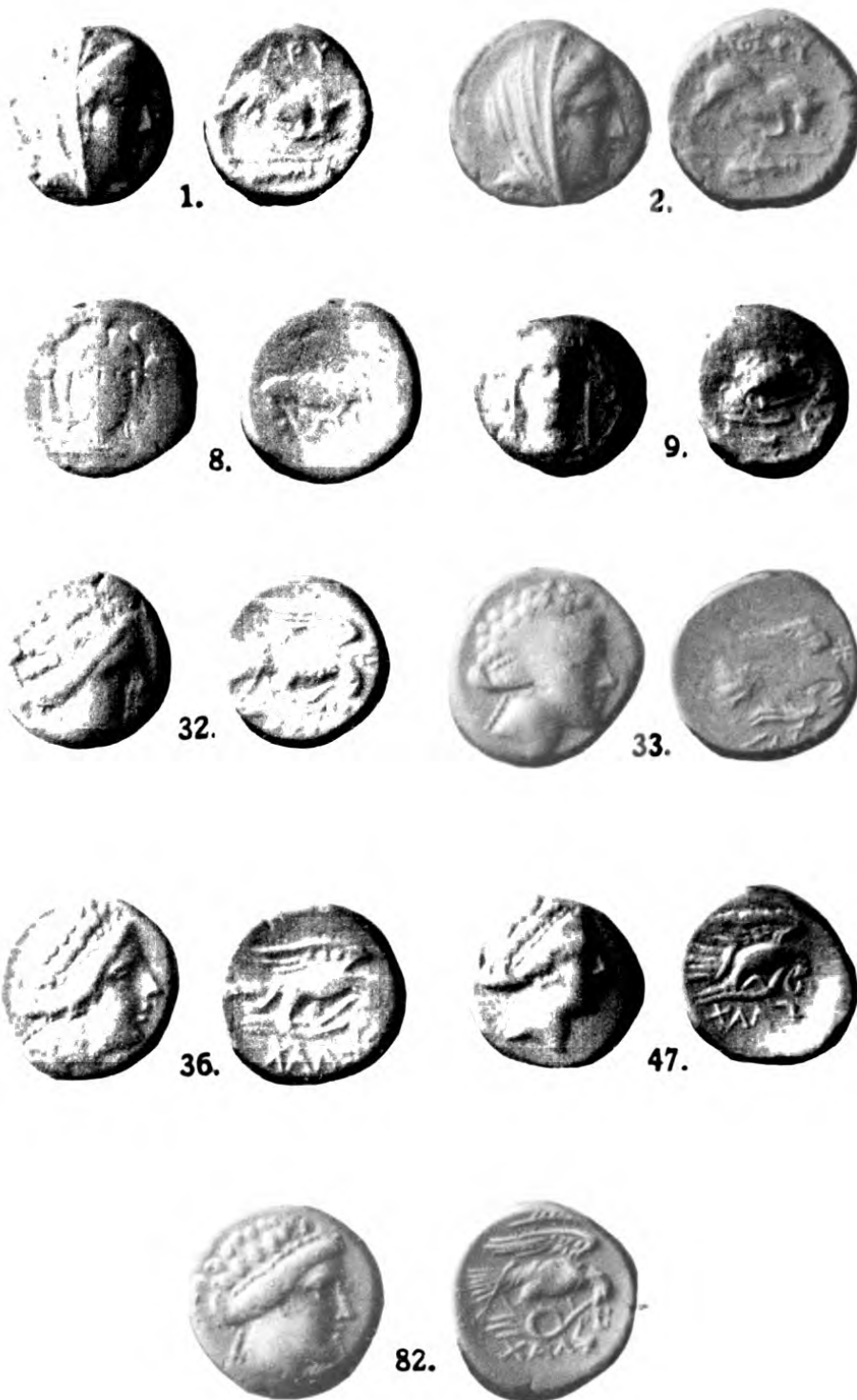
20.



21.



HOARD I—EUBOEAE



HOARD I—EUBOEAE

PLATE I



99.



104.



106.



105.



129.



138.



142.



150.



164.



174.



177.



HOARD II—EPIDAUROS

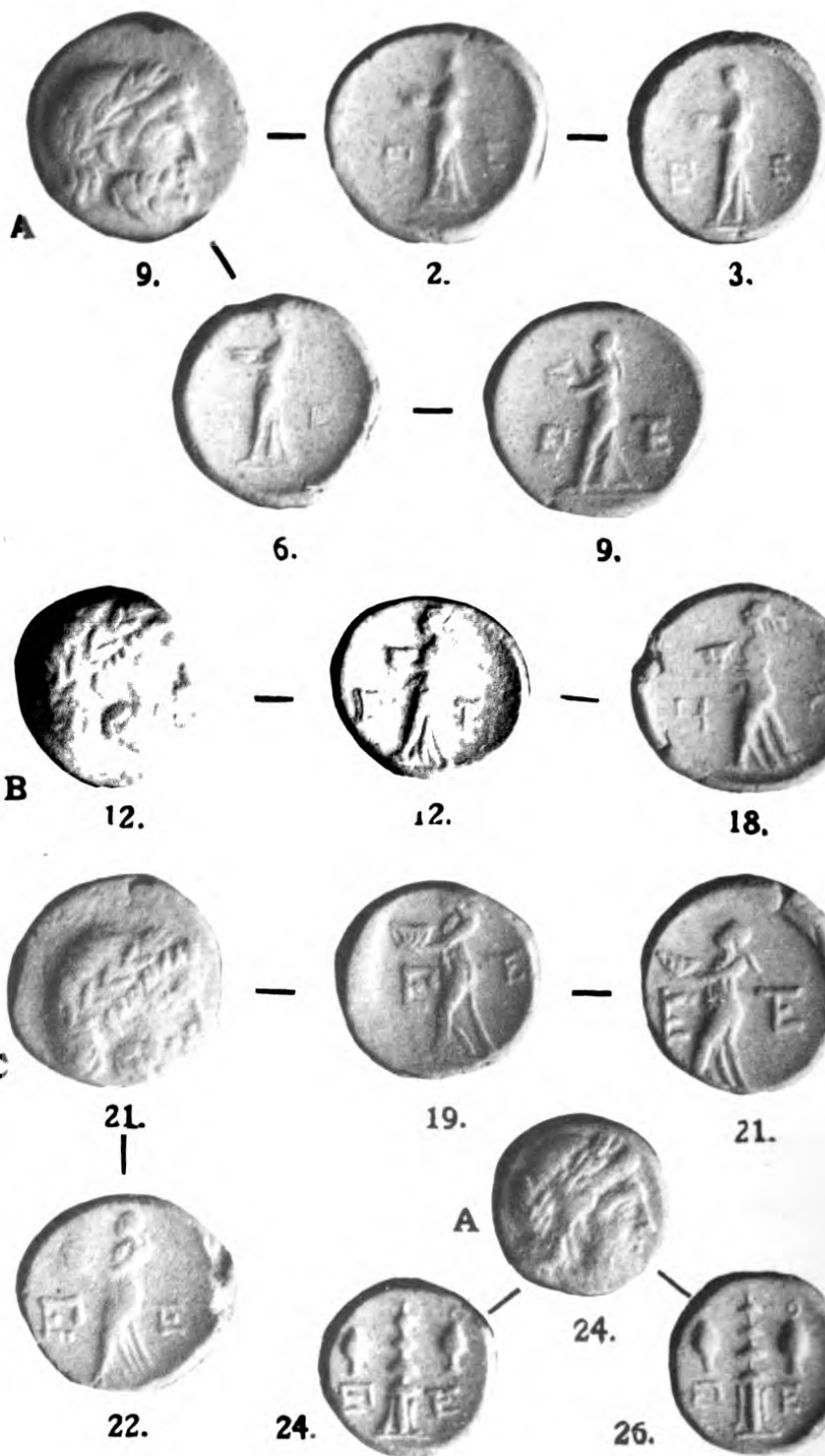
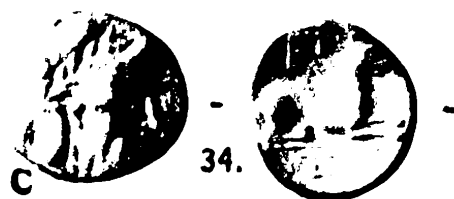
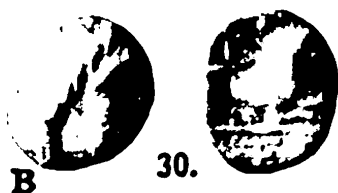


PLATE II



HOARD III—MYTILENE



PLATE III



12.



13.



14.



15.



16.



17.



18.



19.



20.



21.



HOARD III—MYTILENE



PLATE IV



12.



13.



14.



15.



16.



17.



18.



19.



20.



21.



22.



23.

HOARD III—MYTILENE



1.



2.



3.



4.



5.



6.



7.



8.



9.



10.



11.



PLATE V



12.



13.



14.



15.



16



17.



18.



19.



20.



21.



22.

HOARD IV—MAGNESIA



1.



4.



5.



6.



9.



11.



12.



13.



15.



21.



PLATE VI



24.



25.



26.



29.



32.



33.



36.



37.



42.



39.



45.



HOARD III—MYTILENE



PLATE IV



12.



13.



14.



15.



16.



17.



18.



19.



20.



21.



22.



23.

HOARD III—MYTILENE

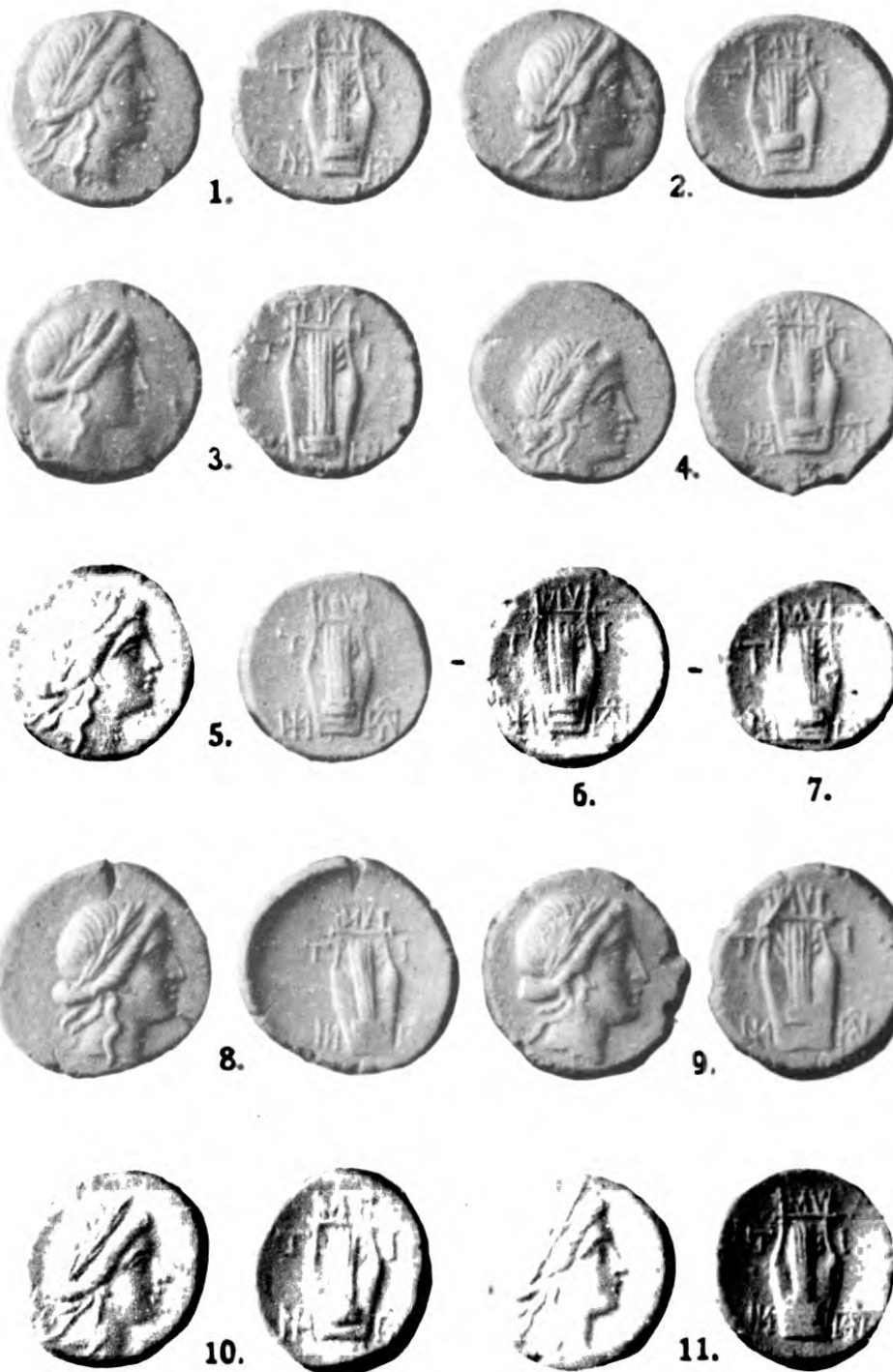


PLATE V



12.



13.



14.



15.



16.



17.



18.



19.



20.



21.



22.

HOARD IV—MAGNESIA



1.



4.



5.



6.



9.



11.



12.



13.



15.



21.



PLATE VI



24.



25.



26.



29.



32.



33.



36.



37.



42.



39.



45.



HOARD V—PTOLEMAIC BRONZE



1.



PTOLEMY III

PLATE VII



17.



PTOLEMY III

HOARD V—PTOLEMAIC BRONZE



22.



25.



PTOLEMY III

PLATE VIII



30.



39.



PTOLEMY III

HOARD V—PTOLEMAIC BRONZE

41.



42.



41.



PTOLEMY IV

PLATE IX



49.



63.



PTOLEMY IV

HOARD V—PTOLEMAIC BRONZE



22.



25.



PTOLEMY III

PLATE VIII



30.



39.



PTOLEMY III

HOARD V—PTOLEMAIC BRONZE

41.



42.



41.



PTOLEMY IV

PLATE IX



49.



63.



PTOLEMY IV

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35
N9

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NOV 21 1935

NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 69



THE SIXTH, SEVENTH AND TENTH DURA HOARDS

BY

ALFRED R. BELLINGER

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
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THE SIXTH, SEVENTH, AND TENTH DURA HOARDS

BY ALFRED R. BELLINGER

The three silver hoards here published were found in three different seasons of the excavations of Dura-Europos by Yale University and the French Academy.¹ Of the Sixth Hoard found in 1931-32, a brief summary has appeared in the Preliminary Report of the Fifth Season of Work (New Haven, 1934), pp. 304-306. Hoard 7 was found on January 18, 1933 in a common-ware jar near the citadel, while Hoard 10 was unearthed on December 24, 1933 diametrically across the town, not far from the Palmyra Gate which is the chief entrance to the city. In the second case the place of finding is very important, for the hoard was in one of those houses lying near

¹ The previous hoards have already been published in this series, as follows: 1 and 2 (A. R. Bellinger) No. 49, 1931; 3 and 4 (A. R. Bellinger) No. 55, 1932; 5 (E. T. Newell) No. 58, 1933. Hoards 8 and 9, of bronze, are now being studied, but as they are very large, their publication may be delayed. I take this opportunity to thank the Society again for allowing me to use its pages for the adequate presentation of excavation material. I wish also to thank those who have assisted in the cleaning of the coins and preparing the illustrations: Miss Mary T. Nettleton, Messrs. M. J. Hamilton, D. K. Pond and H. L. McClintock.

2 SIXTH, SEVENTH, AND TENTH

the city wall which had been buried in the great embankment with which the walls themselves were reinforced. Since Hoard 10 contains coins of the year 256, the embankment cannot have been constructed until this, the last year of Dura's life, and must have been a device to meet the final Sassanian siege and neither a counter to earlier attacks nor a general precaution to strengthen weakened defenses. It is also worth noticing that this is a case where the owner abandoned his money not because the enemy was within the city but merely because the house where it was hidden was condemned. Of course he may have perished before the building of the embankment, but one would expect some member of the family to have moved the coins to another hiding place when the house was about to be buried.

Since much of the material in these three is parallel, it seemed advisable to publish them together abandoning the earlier system of numbering each coin and to give numbers to the types instead while the representation in each hoard is recorded in columns to the right. The condition of Hoard 10 was the best, that of Hoard 6 much the worst, and this discrepancy very seriously affected the weights. So far as the weights could be tested they showed no significant variation from those given, perhaps in too great profusion, in the publication of Hoards 1 and 2. They are therefore omitted in the present work.

DURA HOARDS

3

The summary herewith submitted will show the general distribution.

Hoard	6			7			10		
	Tetradrachms	Antoniniani	Denarii	Tetradrachms	Antoniniani	Denarii	Tetradrachms	Antoniniani	Denarii
Crispina						1			
Septimius									
Severus				2		2			
Julia Domna						6	1		
Caracalla	1			28		6	13		
Macrinus	1			10			11		
Diadumenianus				3			1		
Elagabalus	3			24	1	6	42		
Julia Paula						1			
Julia Soemias						1			
Julia Maesa						4			
Severus									
Alexander						21			
Orbiana						2			
Julia Mamaea						7			
Maximinus									
Thrax						4			
Gordian III				33	67	9	23	18	
Philip	9			112	5		120	3	
Trajan Decius	218						111		
Trebonianus									
Gallus	35	1			1		31	31	
Valerian								99	

4 SIXTH, SEVENTH, AND TENTH

Hoard 10, like Hoard 1, was evidently buried at the time of the final assault by the Sassanians in 256. Hoards 6 and 7, like Hoard 2, may have been buried as early as 253. Conditions were so unsettled in the city's last years that there is nothing unlikely in the supposition that people buried their money and left it underground for some time before the last attack. Hoard 6 is apparently the accumulation of a few years only, begun in the time of Decius and including a few earlier pieces which happened to be current whereas the possessors of Hoards 7 and 10 seem to have begun gathering their coins as early as Caracalla. It is noticeable that Hoard 7 alone contains denarii, and those in a steady succession, but I can suggest no reason for this.

In some instances I have revised the dates and attributions accepted in the publication of earlier hoards, partly on the basis of new information from the excavation, partly influenced by numismatic works which have appeared in the meantime. These revisions may be conveniently discussed here before the presentation of the catalogue itself.

In a volume entitled *Antiquités Syriennes, Première Serie* (Paris 1934) M. Henri Seyrig has republished with emendations articles of his that had appeared in *Syria* from 1931 to 1933. On pages 56 to 69 will be found comments on various of the provincial tetradrachms which are so prominent among the finds at Dura. M. Seyrig has not only succeeded in rectifying previous attributions in some cases but has also discovered the general principle that the

tetradrachms of Caracalla may be grouped into two classes according to the reading of the obverse legend—a principle which will greatly facilitate the work of further attribution. His list has been followed in this catalogue with one exception: the device of the three Graces which I myself had assigned to Tarsus is here given to Gadara because of bronzes of Elagabalus and Gordian III from that mint in possession of Mr. Newell which bear the same type. The attribution is strengthened by the dissimilarity between the tetradrachms and the known didrachms of Tarsus.

I do not intend to discuss here the general question of the tetradrachms. When the excavations are through and the new material they supply has been examined I hope to devote a special study to the issues of Caracalla and Macrinus, and M. Seyrig has already made a most welcome contribution to such a study by sending me photographs of the pieces with which he has worked. At present I should only like to point out what does not appear to have received due attention: that this sudden increase in the number of mints striking silver cannot be accidental. It must be regarded as a definite item in the policy of Caracalla toward the East and is undoubtedly to be connected with the increase of Roman coloniae in the same region. Why the monetary experiment should have been abandoned by Elagabalus is a question which cannot be settled at this time.

Harold Mattingly has published an article en-

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titled "The Coinage of Septimius Severus and his Times. Mints and Chronology" in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. XII (1932), pp. 177–198. Mr. Mattingly's extensive and productive labors in the field of the Roman imperial coinage give his pronouncements great weight, and, although there are only a few pieces in these hoards which are affected by his arguments, it is desirable to review his general conclusions somewhat at length, since they ultimately concern a large number of the coins from Dura.

Mr. Mattingly distinguishes three separate imperial mints operating under Septimius in the East. The first of these he would place at Alexandria, the other two in Syria, at Laodicea-ad-Mare and Emesa. Not only does he cite a difference in style, but also he calls attention to differences in the obverse legend: Mint I reading IMP CAE L SEP SEV PERT AVG; Mint II (until 196), L SEPT SEV PERT AVG IMP I (II, V, VII, VIII); Mint III, IMP CAE L SEP SEV PERT AVG COS (COS I or COS II).² After 196 only Mint II is represented. Its output is said not to have extended beyond 202.

This interesting paper led me to subject to a more careful scrutiny the coins of the Third and Fourth Dura Hoards already published. The result follows:

Mint I	Hoard III, 198, 199, 216
	Hoard IV, 65

² This is erroneously printed SEPT instead of SEP (p. 182), but reference to Plate XIV, 1–3 will show that Mr. Mattingly's own examples read SEP, and I have found no exception elsewhere.

Mint II (IMP I)	Hoard IV, 47
(IMP II)	Hoard IV, 64
(IMP V)	Hoard III, 217
(IMP VII)	Hoard IV, 66
(IMP VIII)	Hoard III, 220
	Hoard IV, 67
(IMP XI)	Hoard III, 221
	Hoard IV, 68-73
Mint III (COS I)	Hoard IV, 43-46
(COS II)	Hoard III, 200-215, 218-219
	Hoard IV, 48-63 ³

The number of coins from each mint, year by year, is as follows:

193. Mint I, 2	195. Mint I, 1
Mint II, 1	Mint II, 2
Mint III, 4	Mint III, 2
194. Mint I, 1	196. Mint II, 2
Mint II, 1	198. Mint II, 7
Mint III, 32	

On the basis of this division I studied the styles, and, although at first skeptical, gradually came to feel that a difference could be detected, though it still seems to me very doubtful whether single pieces could be assigned with confidence to one mint or the

³ *N.M.M.* No. 55, (1932). In separating them according to obverse legend I was able to rectify some errors in my first reading: Hoard IV, 64 (p. 64) IMP II instead of IMP III; Hoard IV, 65 (p. 64) SEP instead of SEPT; Hoard IV, 48-54 (pp. 61 f.) SEP instead of SEPT.

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other without the assistance of the legend. But so far as these coins go, and those in the Yale collection, they do support Mr. Mattingly's division.

As to the location of the mints it is much harder to be sure. The attribution of Mint I to Alexandria rests on the fact that "there is something very like identity of style between these coins and the Alexandrian potin" (Mattingly, *op. cit.* p. 181). The phrase shows how subjective the decision must be, particularly when compared with the remark about the other two mints, that "neither shows identity of style with Antioch, as represented by the coins of Niger" (p. 182). The relation between "identity" and "something very like identity" is so subtle that it behoves us to walk with extreme care. I have not the material and this is not the place to argue the matter of Alexandria. I will only call attention to the fact that we have, in the Third and Fourth Hoards, four denarii from Mint I, though no other coin of Egyptian provenance has been found at Dura nor anything else that could come from Egypt. Evidence from place of finding is not proof, of course, but it is evidence which should not be overlooked because it is entirely objective. No excavator would be so reckless as to deny that a coin might find its way to his site in defiance of all probability, but that does not lead him to disregard probability. It has been abundantly proved that Dura's normal contact with the West was through Antioch, and for coins to have passed through Antioch from Egypt is not impossible, but it is improbable. So far as they

go, then, these pieces tell against the attribution to Alexandria.

Mint II is attributed to Laodicea-ad-Mare on two grounds, style and historical probability. The first does not seem to me conclusive, but, as for the second, there is really more to be urged in its favor than Mr. Mattingly has taken time to explain. It is certain that Antioch was in some way penalized for her fidelity to Niger. "Spartianus" (*S.H.A. Severus*, 9, 4) reports that Severus took many privileges from the city; Herodian (III, 6, 9) that Antioch was enslaved to Laodicea; and Malalas (XII, p. 293, Bonn) that Laodicea was made metropolis of Syria, a dignity which is proved by the coins.⁴ The Digest (50. 15, 1, 3) informs us that it also received the *ius Italicum*. The reason for this is clear. From hostility to Antioch, Laodicea had declared for Septimius at the news of his victory at Cyzicus⁵ and had suffered in consequence.⁶

Now this does not of necessity prove that the mint was transferred from one city to the other, but here the dating of the coins is conclusive. Mr. Mattingly has doubts about the readings IMP I and COS I (p. 182, n. 10); I assume that he doubts the correctness of the inscription, not of its recording, for IMP I and COS I do certainly appear on the

⁴ *B.M.C. Galatia, etc.*, p. 258.

⁵ Herodian III, 2, 7; III, 3, 3.

⁶ Herodian III, 3, 5. This whole episode is discussed by Johannes Hasebroek *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Septimius Severus*, pp. 64 f.

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coins. So far as Mint II is concerned it makes no difference, for both the first and second Imperial acclamations fall in 193; the third in January 194.⁷ The final defeat and death of Niger did not come until October of 194⁸ so that the coins with IMP I and IMP II *cannot* have been struck in Antioch. Neither can the first of Mint III, for that matter, unless one assumes that COS and COS I (193) is always a mistake for COS II (194), which seems unreasonable. I conclude, therefore, that Mints II and III must be located in cities which had declared for Severus before the fall of Antioch, and of these Laodicea is the likeliest suggestion for Mint II, which is the more important.

At the same time I cannot agree with all the evidence which Mr. Mattingly has cited. He would attribute doubtfully to Laodicea the tetradrachms of Severus with an eagle "standing on a hare" (p. 183, n. 12). Surely this description is a mere inadvertence. The very coin which he illustrates appears in the British Museum Catalogue⁹ and is there listed as "Eagle, facing, on leg and thigh of animal." It is a type which occurs as early as Hadrian.¹⁰ It may or may not have to do with the legend of the city's foundation recorded by Libanius, but it certainly belongs to Antioch and the sudden trans-

⁷ Hasebroek, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Galatia, etc.* p. 193, No. 351, Pl. XXIII.

¹⁰ *B.M.C. Galatia etc.* p. 187, Nos. 304 f. Pl. XXIII, 1.

formation of the leg and thigh into a hare must be rejected.

Nor need it in the least weaken the argument for Laodicea if these tetradrachms be attributed to Antioch. If it is certain that Antioch was punished it is as certain that it was restored to favor. "Spartianus" in the life of Caracalla (I, 7) says that it was at the intercession of that prince that Severus gave back to the citizens of Antioch and Byzantium their ancient rights, and it is generally agreed that in the case of Antioch the occasion was January 202 when the two emperors assumed the consulship in that city.¹¹ Now the tetradrachms of Severus are dated in the third consulship, that is, 202, and one type, with the usual Tyche of the city even Mr. Mattingly admits as probably of Antioch.¹² There is no reason, then, to doubt that the second type may be from the same mint and we may very reasonably conclude that these issues celebrated the restoration of the city's privileges. But it is not necessary to assume a revival of the issue of denarii from Antioch. The theory that the eastern denarii were not continued beyond that year¹³ is probable enough, since Severus then left the east and turned his attention to Africa and the west. It is true that the latest obverse legend, SEVERVS PIVS AVG was continued

¹¹ *S.H.A.* "Severus" XVI, 8 and "Caracalla," Loeb Library Edition, p. 4, n. 1.

¹² p. 183, n. 12.

¹³ Mattingly p. 187.

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in Roman issues until 210¹⁴ but that does not prove anything about the Syrian mint, and there is certainly no change in that coinage which would indicate a transfer from Laodicea to Antioch. All that we can assign to the latter city is the series of tetradrachms which may continue until the end of the reign.

Mint III is located by Mr. Mattingly at Emesa, the native city of Julia Domna. The sources have nothing to say about that city's position in the wars between Severus and Niger, though nothing is more likely than that the influence of Julia should have insured its fidelity to her husband. It would then have been in a situation to strike the coins with COS or COS I. Mr. Mattingly suggests (p. 183) that tetradrachms of Severus with a star between the eagle's legs belong to that mint, saying, "this symbol, star, is probably the distinctive mark of Emesa, as seen on the tetradrachms of Elagabalus and on silver of his dynasty at Rome. The star evidently represents the chief of the stars, the sun." I cannot believe that he means to attribute to the mint of Emesa the enormous output of tetradrachms by Elagabalus. The great quantity of bronze of Antioch under the emperor is all against such a theory, which is made more improbable by the fact that this bronze frequently bears a star as symbol¹⁵ whereas

¹⁴ The date is misprinted 210–11 by Mattingly (p. 192), but dated coins show that 201–210 is meant.

¹⁵ E.g. *B.M.C. Galatia, etc.* p. 203 f. Nos. 433–437; p. 204, Nos. 440, f.; p. 205 f. Nos. 447–456.

his bronze from Emesa does not. But, as a matter of fact, it is not a star but a head of Helios which is used as a symbol of Emesa on the tetradrachms, as Dieudonné has pointed out,¹⁶ showing the error of Imhoof-Blumer's attribution to Heliopolis, which is followed in the British Museum Catalogue. As for the tetradrachms of Severus and Caracalla with a star, they belong to Antioch like those of Elagabalus; the star appears as a symbol at Antioch as early as 11 A.D.¹⁷ It is at once apparent that the eagle with a star differs considerably from that on the leg and thigh. I have already given my grounds for believing that, in spite of this, the two varieties are from the same place¹⁸ and I might refer in addition to M. Seyrig's discussion of the tetradrachms from Carrahae¹⁹ where one must admit either that one mint could strike two dissimilar tetradrachms or that two mints used the same symbol, which seems even harder doctrine. Of course the coins of Severus need not have been contemporary. Since his third consulship was his last, the date on his tetradrachms proves only that they were not struck before 202.

The assignment of imperial coinage to Emesa, then, draws no support from the local coinage and must stand on its own inherent probability. In that regard the testimony of the Third and Fourth Hoards should be cited for what it is worth. For

¹⁶ *Rev. Num.* 1906 pp. 132 f.

¹⁷ *B.M.C. Galatia, etc.*, p. 159, No. 42.

¹⁸ *The Third and Fourth Dura Hoards*, p. 8.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 66 ff.

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the years before 196, Mint II is represented by 4 coins, Mint III by 38. The numbers are small, but not too small, I think, to be significant. Since Mint II is clearly the more important, one would expect to find it more largely represented, unless Mint III was more accessible to Dura. Now Laodicea is actually nearer to Dura than Emesa.²⁰ Our evidence, then, would fit better a town to the east of Laodicea. It is worth suggesting that Zeugma might be the town. The striking there of rare bronzes in 195²¹ is not much to go on, but it is more than we have for Emesa. Caracalla minted tetradrachms there.²² Samosata also struck bronze under Severus, but no tetradrachms that have yet been identified. The mint certainly cannot be across the Euphrates since partisans of Niger held Nisibis and the rest of Mesopotamia was in revolt. Beroea, Hieropolis, Cyrrhus and Doliche are also possible but there is nothing in the way of evidence in their case. I am quite aware that the argument against Emesa is slight, but where so little is sure it is well to bear all the chances in mind.

There is one more word to be said in regard to Antioch. Hoard IV, Nos. 148 f. are attributed to that mint although they are of the year 210 and therefore

²⁰ It is perfectly true that there is a route across the desert, by Palmyra, but I have pointed out that this route was rarely used at this period. *Third Preliminary Report*, pp. 140 f.

²¹ E.g. *B.M.C.*, p. 126, No. 19.

²² Imhoof-Blumer, *Griechische Münzen* No. 785.

have no connection with the denarii which we have been discussing. Mr. Mattingly believes that they are of eastern origin but suggests that they come from Alexandria. I have already given the basis for my reluctance to attribute coins from Dura to Alexandria, and in this case it seems a needless conjecture. The peculiarities of the coins are just such as are found on earlier issues from Antioch; the difference in style from Caracalla's preceding coins would be explained by the transfer of the mint to that city from Laodicea; Caracalla was striking tetradrachms at Antioch in 208 and 213 and it seems perfectly plausible that he would also have struck a small issue of denarii there. I therefore abide by the original attribution.

In dealing with the coins of Philip I have here followed probability rather than convenience (which I ought to have done in publishing the First Hoard) and put the undated tetradrachms with the eagle on the palm (Nos. 163–170) in 246, 247 instead of in 244. If the reverse inscription of No. 158 is not a mere error it may be the first issue of 245, having the consulship recorded without a number. No. 171 shows that the second variety of obverse inscription for Philip Sr., regularly associated with the issues of 245–247, was also used occasionally in 248. Nos. 181 and 182 show the appearance of Philip Jr. as Caesar and as Augustus both in the same year. The actual year of his elevation was 247 or even 246 but I here retain the date 248 for this reverse type, having been confirmed in my opinion of four years ago

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by the other cases of confusion on the coins between the titles Caesar and Augustus. No. 203 is an interesting piece, doubtless one of the very last of Philip's coins showing on the obverse an officina mark such as is regular on the issues of Trajan Decius. It is not the latter emperor therefore, but Philip who is to be credited with the introduction of that system. In some other points this catalogue supplements the published tetradrachms of Philip, but only by containing varieties whose existence might be assumed with certainty.

For the sake of brevity I have not listed separately the output of each officina under Decius and Gallus, merely indicating which officinae are represented. It may later be advisable to study their comparative frequency, though the chance of arriving at any useful conclusion seems very remote.

No. 242 shows that the eagle with the pellet between its legs was used for Trajan Decius as well as for his wife and sons. I had previously assumed (Hoard II, No. 67) that the obverse of No. 244, which is like the earliest of Gallus' portraits, was Decius' last type, but the likeness of the reverse of Nos. 242 and 243 to Gallus' reverses is probably more significant.

It will be found that I have revised the dating of the Antoniniani of Gallienus. Webb (*R.I.C.* V, 1) dates them in 254; they are here put in 256. The reasons for the change are given in the forthcoming *Sixth Preliminary Report* of the excavations, in the chapter on the coins, but they may be summarized

here. With corpses of Roman soldiers killed in a mine during the last assault on the city were found a number of coins which had certainly been on their persons. Thirty-seven of these were coins of Valerian, three of them of the year 256; there were none of Gallienus. This is easily explained if the latter Emperor's issues from Antioch only began in 256. Such a date would also give much better proportions to the last Antoniniani of the First and the Tenth Hoards. Before 256 only Valerian would be represented, and he chiefly by his Roman coins, whereas the last pieces would be chiefly from Antioch and divided between Valerian and Gallienus, with a majority for the former.

HOARD 1

	Valerian		Gallienus	
	Rome	Antioch	Rome	Antioch
253-4	16	3		
256	2	48		30

HOARD 10

	Valerian		Gallienus	
	Rome	Antioch	Rome	Antioch
253-4	44			
256		29		22

Nothing else in these hoards calls for special comment.

DURA HOARDS

19

CRISPINA

180-183

6 7 10

1. CRISPINA AVG Bust r., draped.
Rev. VENVS Venus standing l., holding apple and gathering up drapery on l. shoulder. (*R.I.C.*, III, p. 399, No. 286)

Denarius. Plated.

1

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS

193-211

2. ATT KAI CEOTHPOC CE Bust r., laur., wearing paludamentum.

Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΣ ΤΗΑΤΟC ΤΟ Γ Eagle, head l., between legs, star.

Tetradrachms. Antioch 202. *Plate I*

2

3. IMP CAE L SEP SEV PERT AVG COSII Head r., laur.

Rev. BONI EVENTVS Fides standing l., holding basket of fruit and two ears of corn. (*Hoard III*, Nos. 201-203)

Denarius. Syria 194.

1

4. SEVERVS AVG PART MAX Head r., laur.

Rev. RESTITVTOR VRBIS Emperor standing l., sacrificing on lighted tripod, holding spear. (*Hoard III*, No. 223)

Denarius. Rome 200-1.

1

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JULIA DOMNA

193–217

6 7 10

5. IOTAIA . . . ATTOCTA Bust r.
Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΩΤΕΙΑC Eagle,
 head l.; between legs bust of Helios l.;
 to r. of eagle's head H (cf. *B.M.C.* p. 291,
 No. 5)

Tetradrachm. Emesa.¹ 212–213.

Plate I 1

6. IVLIA AVGVSTA Bust r.
Rev. CONCORDIA Concord seated
 l., holding patera and cornucopiae.
 (*Cohen IV*, p. 108, No. 21)

Denarius. Syria 196–211. 1

7. Same.
Rev. HILARITAS Hilaritas standing
 l., holding long palm and cornucopiae.
 (*Hoard IV*, No. 115)

Denarius. Rome 196–211. 1

8. Same.
Rev. MATER DEVM Cybele, tur-
 reted, seated l., between two lions, hold-

¹ Since Emesa was the birthplace of Julia Domna, Caracalla evidently allowed her image to appear on certain tetradrachms from that place. The significance of the piece in the British Museum is lost by its being erroneously published as from Heliopolis.

DURA HOARDS

21

ing branch and scepter, her l. elbow 6 7 10
resting on tympanum. (*Hoard IV*, Nos.
118, 119.)

Denarius. Rome 196–211. 1

9. Same.

Rev. PIETAS PVBLICA Pietas,
veiled, standing l. before flaming altar,
both hands raised. (*Hoard IV*, No. 120)

Denarius. Rome 196–217. 1

10. Same.

Rev. PVDICITIA Pudicitia seated l.,
r. hand on her breast. (*Hoard IV*, No.
121)

Denarius. Rome 196–211. 1

11. IVLIA PIA FELIX AVG Bust
r. on crescent.

Rev. VENVS GENETRIX Venus
seated l. extending r. hand and holding
scepter. (*Cohen IV*, p. 123, No. 211)

Antoninianus. Rome 211–217. 1

CARACALLA

211–217

12. ΑΤΤΚΜΑΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC CЄB
Head r., laur.

Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΤΠΙΑΤΟCΤΟΔ
Eagle, head l., between legs, star. (*Hoard
IV*, No. 140)

Tetradrachm. Antioch 213, *Plate I* 1 1

22 SIXTH, SEVENTH, AND TENTH

13. Same. 6 7 10

Rev. Same inscription. Eagle, head r.,
on leg and thigh of animal; to l. and r.,
ΔΘ (cf. *B.M.C.* p. 195, No. 363, *Hoard*
IV, No. 179 Macrinus)

Tetradrachms. Antioch 213. 1 2

14. (Beginning lower l.) ANTΩN-
ΕΙΝOC CEB ATTKMA Bust l., laur.

Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΤΗΙΑΤΟΔ Eagle,
head r., on leg and thigh of animal. (cf.
B.M.C. p. 195, No. 362)

Tetradrachm. Antioch 213. *Plate I* 1

15. ATTKMA ANTΩNΕΙΝOC CEB
Head r., laur.

Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΤΗΙΑΤΟCTOΔ
Eagle, head r., on club; between legs,
star. (*Seyrig* p. 66, No. 1)

Tetradrachms. Antioch 213. *Plate II* 3 1

16. Same.

Rev. Same inscription. Eagle, head r.;
between legs, cornucopiae. (*B.M.C.* p.
196, No. 373. *Seyrig* p. 66, No. 2)

Tetradrachms. Antioch 213. *Plate II* 3

17. Same.

Rev. Same inscription. Eagle, head l.;
nothing visible between legs.

Tetradrachm. Antioch? 213. 1

DURA HOARDS

23

18. Same inscription. Bust r., laur. 6 7 10
Rev. Same inscription. Eagle, head r.,
 on thyrsus bound with fillet. (Cf.
B.M.C. p. 197, No. 376. *Imhoof-Blumer*
G.M. p. 242, No. 14)
 Tetradrachm. Antioch? 213. *Plate II* 1
19. Same inscription. Head r., laur.
Rev. Same inscription. Eagle, head r.,
 standing on horns of a bull's head fac-
 ing. (*Seyrig* p. 67, Fig. 12 d. *B.M.C.* p.
 196, No. 369)
 Tetradrachm. Carrhae 213. *Plate II* 2 1
20. Same.
Rev. Same inscription. Eagle, head r.,
 on thunderbolt. (*Imhoof-Blumer G.M.* p.
 241, No. 7)
 Tetradrachm. Cyrrhus or Seleucia
 Pieria 213. 1
21. Same.
Rev. Same inscription. Eagle, head l.;
 between legs, bust of Helios, l. In field,
 l., H (cf. *B.M.C.* p. 291, Nos. 7-9)
 Tetradrachm. Emesa 213. *Plate II* 1
22. Same.
Rev. Same, but in field, r., ☉. (Cf.
B.M.C. p. 291, Nos. 7-9)
 Tetradrachm. Emesa 213. *Plate II* 1

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23. Same inscription. Bust r., laur. 6 7 10
Rev. Same, but mark in field illegible.
 (Cf. *Hoard I*, No. 5)
 Tetradrachm. Emesa 213. 1
24. Same.
Rev. Same inscription. Eagle, head l.;
 between legs, three Graces in a wreath.
 (Cf. *B.M.C.* p. 196, No. 317; *Hoard I*,
 No. 16 Tarsus)
 Tetradrachm. Gadara 213. *Plate II* 1
25. Same inscription. Head r., laur.
Rev. Same inscription. Eagle, head l.;
 between legs, god with harpa and two
 animals. (*Seyrig* p. 65, Fig. 11)
 Tetradrachm. Orthosia 213. 1
26. Same.
Rev. Same inscription. Eagle, head r.;
 between legs, caps of the Dioscuri. (*Im-
 hoof-Blumer G.M.*, No. 787, *Seyrig* p. 68)
 Tetradrachms. Tripolis 213. *Plate II* 3
27. ΑΤΤΚΑΙΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟCCΕ Head
 r., laur.
Rev. Same inscription. Eagle, head l.,
 on torch around which serpent is twined.
 (Cf. *Hoard I*, Nos. 17-19. *Seyrig* pp.
 56 f.)
 Tetradrachm. Caesarea in Palestine
 213. *Plate III* 1

DURA HOARDS 25

28. Same inscription. Bust r., laur. 6 7 10
Rev. Same. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 17-19.
Seyrig pp. 56, f.)
 Tetradrachm. Caesarea in Palestine
 213. 1

29. Same inscription. Head r., laur.
Rev. Same inscription. Eagle, head l.;
 between legs, ram's head, l. (*Hoard I*,
 No. 2)
 Tetradrachms. Damascus 213. 2

30. Same.
Rev. Same inscription. Eagle, head l.,
 on ear of corn. (*Hoard I*, No. 3. *Seyrig*
 pp. 63 ff.)
 Tetradrachm. Salamis in Cyprus 213. 1

31. Same.
Rev. Same inscription.]OΔ Eagle,
 head r.? standing on ear of corn; below,
 dove r. and before it uncertain symbol.
 Tetradrachm. Salamis in Cyprus 213.
Plate III 1

32. Same inscription. Bust r., laur.
Rev. Eagle, head l.; beneath, Europa
 on bull r. (*B.M.C.* p. 303, No. 33)
 Tetradrachm. Sidon 213. 1

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33. Same inscription. Head r., laur. 6 7 10
Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΕ (Sic) ΠΙΑΤΟCTOΔ.
 Same type. (Cf. *B.M.C.* p. 303, No. 33)
 Tetradrachm. Sidon 213. *Plate III* 1

34. Same.
Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΤΠΙΑΤΟCTOΔ
 Eagle, head l., on club; between legs,
 murex shell. (*Hoard IV*, No. 144)
 Tetradrachms. Tyre 213. 2 1

35. Same inscription. Bust r., laur.
Rev. Same. (*Hoard I*, No. 6)
 Tetradrachms. Tyre 213. 2

36. Same inscription. Bust r., laur., in
 cuirass.
Rev. Same. (Cf. *Hoard I*, No. 6)
 Tetradrachm. Tyre 213. 1

37. Same inscription. Head r., laur.
Rev. Eagle, head l.; between legs,
 prow, l. (*B.M.C. Phoenicia* p. 303, Nos.
 31 f. *Hunt Coll.* 3 p. 223, No. 1)
 Tetradrachm. Uncertain Mint 213.
Plate III 1

38. IMP ANTONINVS AVG Young
 bust r., laur.
Rev. FIDES MILITVM Fides stand-

DURA HOARDS 27

ing l., looking r., holding standard and 6 7 10
ensign. (*Cohen IV*, p. 151, No. 80)

Denarii. Rome 198–201. 2

39. IMP ANTONINVS PIVS AVG
Head r., laur.

Rev. Same inscription. Legionary eagle between two standards. (*Cohen IV*, p. 151, No. 81)

Denarius. Rome 198–201. 1

40. IMP CAE M AVR ANT AVG
P TRP Young bust r., laur.

Rev. SPES PVBLICA Spes walking l., holding flower and raising robe. (*Cohen IV*, p. 205, No. 599)

Denarius. Syria 198. 1

41. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG Head
r., laur.

Rev. PONTIF TRP XIII COS III Concordia l., holding patera and cornucopiae. (*Cohen IV*, p. 194, No. 484)

Denarius. Rome 210. 1

42. ANTONINVS PIVS FEL AVG
Head r., laur.

Rev. CONCORDIA MILIT Two standards between two legionary eagles. (*Cohen IV*, p. 144, No. 25)

Denarius. Rome 213. 1

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MACRINUS

217-218

6 7 10

43. ΑΤΤΚΜΑΟΠΙΙ ΕΕ ΜΑΚΡΙΝΟC
ΕΕ Bust r., laur.

Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΞΤΠΑΤΟC Eagle,
head l.; between legs, fantastic bird,
to l. and r. of which, BE. (*B.M.C.* p. 132,
Nos. 19, 20)

Tetradrachm. Beroea 213. (The re-
verse belongs to Caracalla.) Plated

1

44. ΑΤΤΚΜΟΠΙΙΕΕ ΜΑΚΡΙΝΟC ΕΕ
Head r., rad.

Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΞΤΠΑΤΟC Eagle,
head r.; between legs, crescent; in field,
l., star; in ex. . . (*Hoard I*, Nos. 10, f.)

Tetradrachms. Carrhae 218.

2 2

45. ΑΤΤΚΑΙΜΟΠΙΙΕΕ ΜΑΚΡΙΝΟC
Bust r. laur.

Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΞΤΠΑΤΟC Eagle,
head l.; between legs, crescent. (Cf. *Sey-
rig* pp. 66 ff.)

Tetradrachm. Carrhae 218. (The re-
verse belongs to Caracalla.) *Plate III*

1

46. ΑΤΤΚΜΟΠΙΙΕΕ ΜΑΚΡΙΝΟC ΕΕ
Head r., laur.

Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΞΤΠΑΤΟC Eagle,
head r., on head of bull, facing. (*B.M.C.*
p. 200, No. 399. *Seyrig* pp. 66 f.)

Tetradrachm. Carrhae 218.

1

DURA HOARDS

29

47. Same inscription. Bust r., laur. 6 7 10
Rev. Same. (Cf. *B.M.C.* p. 200, No. 399. *Seyrig* pp. 66 f.)
 Tetradrachm. Carrhae 218. *Plate III* 1

48. Same.
Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΞΤΠΑΤΟ Eagle, head r., on thunderbolt. (*B.M.C.* p. 200, No. 401. *Seyrig* p. 68)
 Tetradrachm. Cyrrhus or Seleucia-Pieria 218. *Plate III* 1

49. ΑΤΤΚΜΟCΕΤ ΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΟC
 Bust r., laur.
Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΞΤΠΑΤΟC Eagle, head r.; between legs temple with pediment. (Cf. *B.M.C.* p. 197, No. 379, *Hoard I*, p. 15)
 Tetradrachm. Edessa 218. *Plate III* 1

50. ΑΤΤΚΑΙΜΑΡΟΠΕΛCΕΤ ΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΟC CΕΒ Head r., laur.
Rev. Same. (Cf. *B.M.C.* p. 197, No. 379. *Hoard I*, p. 15)
 Tetradrachm. Edessa 218. *Plate IV* 1

51. ΑΤΤΟΚΜΟΠCΕ ΜΑΚΡΙΝΟC-CΕΒ Head r., laur.
Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΞΤΠΑΤΟCΠΠ Eagle, head l.; between legs, bust of

30 SIXTH, SEVENTH, AND TENTH

Helios l.; behind bust of Helios, Λ. 6 7 10
(*Hoard I*, No. 12)

Tetradrachm. Emesa 218. 1

52. Same.

Rev. Same, but ο to l. of bust of
Helios. (Cf. *Hoard I*, No. 13)

Tetradrachm. Emesa 218. *Plate IV* 1

53. ΑΤΤΚΜΟΠΙΣΕ ΜΑΚΡΙΝΟC CЄ

Bust r., laur.

Rev. Same, but H under eagle's beak.
(Cf. *Hoard I*, 12 f.)

Tetradrachm. Emesa 218. *Plate IV* 1

54. Same inscription. Head r., laur.

Rev. Same, but ο under eagle's beak.
(Cf. *Hoard I*, 12 f.)

Tetradrachm. Emesa 218. *Plate IV* 1

55. Same inscription. Bust r., laur.

Rev. Same inscription. Eagle, head l.,
between legs, group of three Graces in
laurel wreath. (Cf. *B.M.C.* p. 196, No.
371, *Hoard I*, No. 16)

Tetradrachm. Gadara 218. 1

56. Same.

Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡ CЄΤΠΑΤΠΠ (sic)
Same type. (Cf. *B.M.C.* p. 196, No. 371,
Hoard I, No. 16)

Tetradrachm. Gadara 218. *Plate IV* 1

DURA HOARDS

31

57. Same.

6 7 10

Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΥΤΙΑΤΟCΠΠ

Eagle, head l.; between legs, altar. (Cf. *B.M.C.* p. 199, No. 397. Cf. *Hoard I*, No. 14)

Tetradrachm. Mopsus 218.

1

58. Same inscription. Head r., laur.

Rev. Same. (*Hoard I*, No. 15)

Tetradrachm. Mopsus 218.

1

59. Same inscription. Bust r., laur.

Rev. Same inscription. Eagle, head l.; between legs, murex shell. (Cf. *Hoard I*, No. 21)

Tetradrachm. Tyre 218. *Plate IV*

1

60. ΑΤΤΚΜΟΠCΕΟΜΑΚΡΙΝΟC

Bust r., laur.

Rev. Same inscription. Eagle, head l.; between legs, crescent over crab. (*B.M.C. Phoenicia*, Pl. 45, 6)

Tetradrachm. Uncertain Mint 218.

Plate IV

1

61. Same inscription. Head r., laur.

Rev. Same. (Cf. *B.M.C. Phoenicia*, Pl. 45, 6)

Tetradrachm. Uncertain Mint 218.

Plate IV

1

32 SIXTH, SEVENTH, AND TENTH

DIADUMENIANUS

217-218

6 7 10

62. ΜΑΡΟΠΕΛ [Δ] ΙΑΔΟΥΜΕΝΙΑ

K Bust r., head bare.

Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡ ΕΞΗΠΑΤΟΣΠΗ

Eagle, head l.; between legs, altar. (Cf.

Hoard I, No. 14)

Tetradrachm. Mopsus 218.

Plate V 1

63. ΜΟΠΙΑΝ . . . Bust r., head bare.

Rev. . . . ΟΣΠΗ Same type. (Cf.

Hoard I, No. 14)

Tetradrachm. Mopsus 218.

Plate V 1

64. ΜΟΠΙΑΝ[Τ]ΩΝΙΝΟΝ (sic) ΚΑΙ

Bust r., head bare.

Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΞΟΥΤΙΑC Eagle,
head l., between legs, murex shell. (Cf.

Hoard I, No. 21)

Tetradrachm. Tyre 218. *Plate V* 1

65. . . . ΔΙΑΔΟΥΜΕ . . . Bust r., head
bare.

Rev. Corroded away.

Tetradrachm. Uncertain Mint 218. 1

ELAGABALUS

218–222

6 7 10

66. ATTKMA ANTWNЄINOC CЄB

Head r., laur.

Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧЄΤΠΑΤΟCTO B
Eagle, head l.; in field, to l. and r., ΔЄ;
between legs, star. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 22–50)

Tetradrachms 219. These, and all
subsequent tetradrachms are from An-
tioch.

1 19 29

67. Same inscription. Bust r., laur.

Rev. Same. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 51 f.)

Tetradrachms. 219.

1 4

68. Same inscription. Head r., laur.

Rev. Same, but eagle's head r. (*Hoard I*,
Nos. 53–59)

Tetradrachms. 219.

1 5 8

69. ANTWNЄINOC CЄBATTK

Head l., laur.

Rev. Same, but eagle's head l. (*Hoard I*,
No. 60)

Tetradrachm. 219.

1

70. IMP CAES ANTONINVS Bust
r., rad.

Rev. MARS VICTOR Mars nude with
floating mantle walking r., carrying
spear and trophy. (*Cohen IV*, p. 335,
No. 111)

Antoninianus. Rome.

1

34 SIXTH, SEVENTH, AND TENTH

71. IMP ANTONINVS AVG Bust 6 7 10
r., laur.

Rev. PMTRPIII COSIIIPP Jupiter seated l., holding Victory and scepter, at his feet, eagle. (Cf. *Cohen IV*, p. 338, No. 151)

Denarius. 220. All these denarii of Elagabalus are from Rome. 1

72. IMP CAES ANTONINVS AVG
Bust r., laur.

Rev. MARS VICTOR Mars nude, with floating mantle, walking r., holding spear and trophy. (*Cohen IV*, p. 334, No. 109)

Denarius. 1

73. IMP ANTONINVS PIVS AVG
Bust r., laur.

Rev. LIBERTAS AVG Liberty l., with bonnet and scepter; in field, star. (*Cohen IV*, p. 333, No. 92)

Denarius. 1

74. Same.

Rev. VICTORIA AVG Victory flying l., holding diadem; to l. and r., shields; in field, star. (*Cohen IV*, p. 352, No. 300)

Denarius. 1

DURA HOARDS

35

75. IMP CAES M AVR ANTON- 6 7 10
INVS AVG Bust r., laur.

Rev. MARS VICTOR Type No. 71.
(Cf. *Cohen IV*, p. 334, No. 109)

Denarius. 1 .

76. Same.

Rev. SALVS ANTONINI AVG Salus
r., feeding serpent in her arms. (*Cohen IV*, p. 348, No. 254)

Denarius. 1

JULIA PAULA

WIFE OF ELAGABALUS

77. IVLIA PAVLA AVG Bust, r.

Rev. CONCORDIA AVGG Concor-
dia seated l., with patera and cornu-
copiae. (*Cohen IV*, p. 378, No. 16)

Denarius. Rome. 1

JULIA SOEMIAS

MOTHER OF ELAGABALUS

78. IVLIA SOAEMIAS AVG Bust, r.

Rev. VENVS CAELESTIS Venus
seated l., holding apple and scepter; at
her feet, a child. (*Cohen IV*, p. 389, No.
14)

Denarius. Rome. 1

36 SIXTH, SEVENTH, AND TENTH

JULIA MAESA

MOTHER OF SOEMIAS

79. IVLIA MAESA AVG Bust, r. 6 7 10
Rev. PVDICITIA Pudicitia seated l.,
lifting veil with r. and holding patera.
(*Cohen IV*, p. 395, No. 36)
Denarii. Rome. 2

80. Same.
Rev. SAECVLI FELICITAS Felici-
tas l., with caduceus, sacrificing; in field,
l., star. (*Cohen IV*, p. 395, No. 45)
Denarius. Rome. 1

81. Illegible. Portrait apparently that
of Maesa.
Denarius. 1

SEVERUS ALEXANDER

222-235

82. IMP C MAVR SEV ALEXAND
AVG Bust r., laur.
Rev. PMTRP COSPP Mars. l., with
spear reversed. (*Cohen IV*, p. 423, No.
207)
Denarii. 222. All these denarii of Sev-
erus Alexander seem to be from Rome. 2

DURA HOARDS

37

- | | | | |
|---|---|---|----|
| 83. Same. | 6 | 7 | 10 |
| <i>Rev.</i> LIBERTAS Liberty l., with cap and scepter. (<i>Cohen IV</i> , p. 417, No. 146) | | | |
| Denarius. 222 or 223. | 1 | | |
| | | | |
| 84. Same. | | | |
| <i>Rev.</i> Same inscription. Liberty l., with bonnet and cornucopiae. (<i>Cohen IV</i> , p. 417, No. 152) | | | |
| Denarius. 222 or 223. | 1 | | |
| | | | |
| 85. Same. | | | |
| <i>Rev.</i> PM TRP II COS PP Peace l., holding olive branch and scepter. (<i>Cohen IV</i> , p. 425, No. 235) | | | |
| Denarii. 223. | 2 | | |
| | | | |
| 86. Same. | | | |
| <i>Rev.</i> PM TRP IIII COS PP Alexander l., sacrificing and holding a book. (<i>Cohen IV</i> , p. 429, No. 276) | | | |
| Denarius. 225. | 1 | | |
| | | | |
| 87. IMP SEV ALEXAND AVG | | | |
| Bust r., laur. | | | |
| <i>Rev.</i> PM TRP VIIII COS III PP Sun l., raising r., and holding globe. (<i>Cohen IV</i> , p. 441, No. 391) | | | |
| Denarius. 230. | 1 | | |

38 SIXTH, SEVENTH, AND TENTH

88. Same.

6 7 10

Rev. Same inscription. Alexander, in military garb r., with spear and globe. (*Cohen IV*, p. 442, No. 401)

Denarius. 230.

1

89. IMP C M AVR SEV ALEXAND
AVG Bust r., laur.

Rev. VICTORIA AVG Victory running l., with crown and palm. (*Cohen IV*, p. 459, No. 564)

Denarius. 230.

1

90. IMP SEV ALEXAND AVG
Bust r., laur.

Rev. VICTORIA AVGVSTI Victory r., writing VOT X on a shield. (*Cohen IV*, p. 459, No. 566)

Denarius. 230.

1

91. IMP ALEXANDER PIVS AVG
Bust r., laur.

Rev. PMTRPX COS III PP Sun standing l., raising r., and holding globe. (*Cohen IV*, p. 443, No. 441)

Denarius. 231.

1

92. Same.

Rev. SPES PVBLICA Spes walking l., holding flower and raising robe. (*Cohen IV*, p. 457, No. 543)

Denarius. 231.

1

93. Same.

6 7 10

Rev. VICTORIA AVG Victory l.,
with shield and palm; at her feet, cap-
tive. (*Cohen IV*, p. 458, No. 558)

Denarius. 231.

1

94. IMP SEV ALEXANDER AVG
Bust r., laur.

Rev. PMTRPX COS III PP Sun
walking l. (*Cohen IV*, p. 443, No. 417)

Denarius. 231.

1

95. IMP C M AVR SEV ALEXAND
AVG Bust r., laur.

Rev. AEQVITAS AVG Aequitas l.,
with scales and cornucopiae. (*Cohen IV*,
p. 402, No. 9)

Denarius.

1

96. Same.

Rev. ANNONA AVG Abundance l.,
holding cornucopiae and ear of wheat;
at her feet, modius of corn. (*Cohen IV*,
p. 404, No. 23)

Denarius.

1

97. Same.

Rev. MARTI PACIFERO Mars l.,
holding olive branch and scepter. (*Co-
hen IV*, p. 419, No. 173)

Denarius.

1

40 SIXTH, SEVENTH, AND TENTH

98. Same.

6 7 10

Rev. PROVIDENTIA AVG Providentia l., with wand and spear. (*Cohen IV*, p. 453, No. 512)

Denarius.

1

99. Same.

Rev. VIRTUS AVG Virtus helmeted r., with reversed spear and buckler. (*Cohen IV*, p. 460, No. 576)

Denarius.

1

100. Same inscription. Head r., laur.

Rev. PIETAS AVG Pietas l., holding in r., box of perfumes? in l., long scepter; in field l., star. (Cf. *Cohen IV*, p. 421, No. 195)

Denarius.

1

ORBIANA

WIFE OF ALEXANDER

101. SALL BARBIA ORBIANA
AVG Bust r.

Rev. CONCORDIA AVGG Concordia seated l., with patera and cornucopiae. (*Cohen IV*, p. 486, No. 1)

Denarii. Rome.

2

JULIA MAMAEA

MOTHER OF ALEXANDER

102. IVLIA MAMAEA AVG Bust r. 6 7 10

Rev. FECVND AVGVSTAE Fecunditas l., holding out hand to child and holding cornucopiae. (*Cohen IV*, p. 490, No. 5)

Denarius. All these denarii of Mamaea are from Rome.

1

103. Same.

Rev. FELICITAS PVBLICA Felicitas looking l., legs crossed, leaning on column and holding caduceus. (*Cohen IV*, p. 492, No. 17)

Denarius.

1

104. Same.

Rev. IVNO CONSERVATRIX Juno l., veiled, with patera and scepter; at her feet, peacock. (*Cohen IV*, p. 493, No. 35)

Denarius.

1

105. Same.

Rev. Inscription illegible [VENERI FELICI or VENVS FELIX] Venus l., holding in outstretched r., Cupid; in l. scepter. (*Cohen IV*, p. 496, No. 60 or 68)

Denarius.

1

42 SIXTH, SEVENTH, AND TENTH

106. Same.

6 7 10

Rev. VESTA Vesta l., veiled, holding
Palladium and scepter. (*Cohen IV*,
p. 498, No. 86)

Denarius.

1

107. Same.

Rev. VESTA Vesta l., holding patera
and transverse scepter. (*Cohen IV*, p.
498, No. 85)

Denarii.

2

MAXIMINUS THRAX

235-238

108. IMP MAXIMINVS PIVS AVG

Bust r., laur.

Rev. PM TRP PP Maximinus stand-
ing between two ensigns, raising r. and
holding spear in l. (*Cohen IV*, p. 510,
No. 46)

Denarius. Uncertain Mint 235.

1

109. Same.

Rev. SALVS AVGVSTI Salus seated
l., feeding serpent coiled around altar.
(*Cohen IV*, p. 513, No. 85)

Denarii. Rome?

2

110. MAXIMINVS PIVS AVG
GERM Bust r., laur.

Rev. PROVIDENTIA AVG Provi-

DURA HOARDS 43

dentia standing l., with wand and cornucopiae; at her feet, globe. (*Cohen IV*, p. 513, No. 75) 6 7 10
 Denarius. Rome? 1

GORDIAN III

238-244

111. ATTOKKMANTTOPΔIANOC
 CEB Bust r., laur.

Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΩΤΕΙΑC Eagle,
 head l.; in ex. S C. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 61-65)
 Tetradrachms. 238-240. 11 5

112. Same inscription. Bust l., rad.,
 in cuirass.

Rev. Same. (*Hoard I*, No. 66)
 Tetradrachms. 238-240. 2

113. Same inscription. Head l., rad.
Rev. Same. (Not in *Hoards I or II* or
B.M.C.)

Tetradrachm. 238-240. *Plate V* 1

114. Same inscription. Bust r., laur.
Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΥΤΙΑΤΟC TO B
 Eagle, head l.; in ex. S C. (*Hoard I*, Nos.
 67, 68)

Tetradrachm. 241. 1

44 SIXTH, SEVENTH, AND TENTH

115. Same.	6	7	10
<i>Rev.</i> Same inscription. Eagle, head l.; beneath, ram, running l., looking r.; above its head, crescent. (<i>Hoard I</i> , Nos. 69–71)			
Tetradrachms. 241–244.	12	8	
116. Same inscription. Bust r., rad.			
<i>Rev.</i> Same. (Not in <i>Hoard I</i> or <i>II</i> or <i>B.M.C.</i>)			
Tetradrachm. 241–244.	1		
117. Same inscription. Head r., laur.			
<i>Rev.</i> Same. (Not in <i>Hoard I</i> or <i>II</i> or <i>B.M.C.</i>)			
Tetradrachm. 241–244.	1		
118. Same inscription. Bust l., rad. in cuirass.			
<i>Rev.</i> Same. (<i>Hoard I</i> , Nos. 72, 73)			
Tetradrachms. 241–244.	3	2	
119. Same inscription. Bust l., rad. in cuirass; shield on l., shoulder, spear held r. shoulder with r. hand.			
<i>Rev.</i> Same. (<i>Hoard I</i> , Nos. 74, 75)			
Tetradrachm. 241–244.		1	
120. Same inscription. Bust r., laur.			
<i>Rev.</i> Same inscription. Same type, but ram running r., looking l. (<i>Hoard I</i> , Nos. 77, 78)			
Tetradrachms. 241–244.	2	5	

DURA HOARDS 45

121. Same inscription. Bust r., rad. 6 7 10
Rev. Same. (Not in *Hoards I* or *II* or
B.M.C.)
 Tetradrachm. 241–244. 1

122. IMP CAES M ANT GOR-
 DIANVS AVG Bust r. rad.
Rev. LIBERALITAS AVG Liberali-
 tas l., with cap and transverse scepter.
 (*Cohen V*, p. 33, No. 126)
 Antoninianus. Antioch 238. 1

123. Same.
Rev. PAX AVGVSTI Peace standing
 l., holding in r., olive branch, in l., trans-
 verse scepter. (*Hoard I*, No. 79)
 Antoniniani. Antioch 238. 2

124. Same.
Rev. VIRTVS AVG Soldier l., leaning
 with r., on shield, with l., on spear.
 (*Cohen V*, p. 64, No. 381. Cf. *Hoard I*,
 Nos. 80–84)
 Antoninianus. Rome 238. 1

125. Same.
Rev. AEQVITAS AVG Equity l.,
 with scales and cornucopiae. (*Cohen V*,
 p. 24, No. 17)
 Antoninianus. Antioch 238, 239. 1

46 SIXTH, SEVENTH, AND TENTH

126. Same. 6 7 10
Rev. CONCORDIA AVG Concordia
 seated l., holding patera and cornu-
 copiae. (*Hoard I*, No. 86)
 Antoninianus. Antioch 239. 2
127. Same.
Rev. Same. (Cf. *Hoard I*, No. 86)
 Antoninianus. Rome 239. 1
128. Same.
Rev. LIBERALITAS AVG II Liber-
 alitas l., holding tessera and double
 cornucopiae. (*Hoard I*, No. 87)
 Antoninianus. Antioch 239. 1
129. Same.
Rev. PMTRP II COS PP Jupiter
 nude l., extending his mantle to Gordian
 and holding thunderbolt and scepter.
 (*Cohen V*, p. 40, No. 189)
 Antoniniani. Antioch 239. 2
130. Same.
Rev. Same inscription. Peace l., with
 olive branch and scepter. (*Cohen V*, p.
 42, No. 203)
 Antoninianus. Antioch 239. 1

DURA HOARDS

47

131. Same. 6 7 10
Rev. Same inscription. Fidelitas l. with ensign and transverse scepter. (*Cohen V*, p. 42, No. 205)
 Antoninianus. Antioch 239. 1
132. Same.
Rev. Same inscription. Gordian l. veiled, sacrificing on tripod and holding scepter. (*Cohen V*, p. 42, No. 210)
 Antoniniani. Antioch 239. 2
133. Same.
Rev. FIDES MILITVM Fides l. holding ensign and transverse scepter. (*Cohen V*, p. 30, No. 86)
 Antoninianus. Antioch 239. 1
134. Same.
Rev. IOVI CONSERVATORI Jupiter nude l., holding thunderbolt and scepter; Gordian standing beside him. (*Cohen V*, p. 32, No. 105)
 Antoninianus. Antioch 239. 1
135. IMP GORDIANVS PIVS FEL AVG Bust r., rad.
Rev. FORTVNA REDVX Fortune seated l., holding in r., rudder; in l., cornucopiae. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 91-102)
 Antoniniani. Antioch 240. 3 1

48 SIXTH, SEVENTH, AND TENTH

136. Same. 6 7 10
Rev. IOVI STATORI Jupiter, nude,
 standing facing, looking r.; holding in r.,
 scepter; in l., thunderbolt. (*Hoard I*,
 Nos. 103–109)
 Antoninianus. Antioch 240. 4 1
137. Same.
Rev. AETERNITATI AVG Sol.
 standing l., r. hand raised; in l., globe.
 (*Hoard I*, Nos. 110–113)
 Antoniniani. Antioch 240. 5 1
138. Same.
Rev. LAETITIAE AVG N Laetitia
 standing l., holding in r., wreath; in l.,
 anchor. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 114, 115)
 Antoniniani. Antioch 240. 5 3
139. Same.
Rev. VIRTVTI AVGVSTI Hercules
 nude r.; r. hand on hip; with l. leaning
 on club which rests on rock; to r., lion's
 skin. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 116–122)
 Antoniniani. Antioch 240. 2 2
140. Same.
Rev. MARTI PACIFERO Mars
 walking l., with olive branch, shield and
 spear reversed. (*Cohen V*, p. 37, No. 162)
 Antoniniani. Antioch 240–244. 2

DURA HOARDS

49

141. Same.

6 7 10

Rev. ROMAE AETERNAE Rome seated l. holding scepter and victory; beside her, shield. (*Cohen V*, p. 56, No. 314)

Antoninianus. Antioch 240–244.

1

142. Same.

Rev. SECVRITAS PERPETVA Securitas l., her legs crossed, holding a scepter and leaning on a column.

2

143. Same.

Rev. SECVRITAS PVBLICA Securitas seated l., holding scepter. (*Cohen V*, p. 58, No. 340)

Antoninianus. Antioch 240–244.

1

144. Same.

Rev. VICTORIA AETERNA Victory l. holding in r., shield which rests on ground; in l., palm; at her feet, captive. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 161–168)

Antoniniani. Antioch 241.

2 1

145. Same.

Rev. PMTRP V COS II PP Gordian r. in military garb, with globe and transverse scepter. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 146–148)

Antoniniani. Antioch 241–242.

1 1

50 SIXTH, SEVENTH, AND TENTH

146. Same. 6 7 10
Rev. Same inscription. Apollo half nude, seated l. on throne, holding in r., laurel branch. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 138–145)
 Antoninianus. Antioch 241–242. 1
147. Same.
Rev. PROVIDENTIA AVG Providentia l., holding in l., uncertain object; in r., scepter. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 169–173)
 Antoniniani. Antioch 242. 1 2
148. Same.
Rev. FELICITAS TEMPORVM Felicitas standing l., holding in l., cornucopiae; in r., caduceus. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 131–137)
 Antoniniani. Antioch 242–244. 2 2
149. Same.
Rev. ORIENS AVG Sol l., lifting r., and holding globe. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 176–185)
 Antoniniani. Antioch 243. 8 1
150. Same.
Rev. SAECVLI FELICITAS Emperor, in military garb, standing r., holding in r., transverse spear, in l., globe. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 187–198)
 Antoniniani. Antioch 243. 7 2

DURA HOARDS

51

151. Same. 6 7 10
Rev. PAX AVGVSTI Peace rushing
 l., holding in upraised r., olive branch,
 in l., scepter. (*Hoard I*, No. 186)
 Antoninianus. Antioch 244. 1
152. Same.
Rev. Illegible.
 Antoniniani. 3
153. Same inscription. Bust r., laur.
Rev. PM TRP III COS II PP Gor-
 dian r., in military garb holding spear
 and globe. (*Cohen V*, p. 45, No. 242)
 Denarius. Antioch 240. 1
154. Same.
Rev. AETERNITATI AVG Sol. r.,
 (sic) rad., nude, raising r., and holding
 globe. (Cf. *Cohen V*, p. 26, No. 39)
 Denarius. Antioch 240–244. 1
155. Same.
Rev. DIANA LVCIFERA Diana r.,
 holding torch. (*Cohen V*, p. 28, No. 69)
 Denarius. Antioch 240–244. 1
156. Same.
Rev. PIETAS AVGVSTI Pietas l.,
 veiled, raising both hands. (*Cohen V*,
 p. 40, No. 186)
 Denarii. Antioch 240–244. 4

52 SIXTH, SEVENTH, AND TENTH

157. Same. 6 7 10

Rev. SALVS AVGVSTI Salus r., feeding serpent in her arms. (*Cohen V*, p. 57, No. 325)

Denarii. Antioch 240–244. 2

PHILIP SR., OTACILIA,
AND PHILIP JR.

244–249

158. ΑΤΤΟΚΚΜΙΟΤΑΦΙΑΙΠΠΟΥ
CΕΒ Bust of Philip Sr. r., laur.

Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΞΟΤCΙΑC Eagle, head l., beneath wings, S C; in ex. MONVRB. (Officinae marks: nothing, B, Γ, Ε, Ϝ). (*Hoard I*, Nos. 219–240)

Tetradrachms. 244. 8 11

159. ΑΤΤΟΚΚΜΙΟΤΑΦΙΑΙΠΠΟΥ
CΕΒ Bust r., rad.

Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΞΟΤCΙΑCΤΗΑΤΟ (sic) Eagle on palm branch, head l., in ex. S C.

Tetradrachm. 245. 1

160. Same inscription. Bust, r., laur.

Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΞΟΤCΙΑCΤΗΑΤΟA Eagle on palm branch, head l.; in ex. S C. (Not in *Hoard I*)

Tetradrachm. 245. 1

161. Same inscription. Bust r., rad.

Rev. Same. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 259, 260)

Tetradrachms. 245. 5

DURA HOARDS

53

162. Same inscription. Bust l., rad., 6 7 10
in cuirass.

Rev. Same. (Not in *Hoard I*)

Tetradrachms. 245. 1 1

163. ΜΑΡΩΤΑΚΙΑϸΘΥΡΑΝ ϸΘΒ

Bust of Otacilia, r.

Rev. Same. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 261–263)

Tetradrachm. 245. 1

164. ΑΤΤΟΚΚΜΙΟΥΑΦΙΑΠΠΟϸ

ϸΘΒ Bust of Philip Sr. r., laur.

Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΞΟΥϸΙΑϸ Eagle,
on palm branch, head l.; in ex. S C.
(*Hoard I*, No. 241)

Tetradrachms. 246–247. 1 1

165. Same inscription. Bust of Philip
Sr., r., rad.

Rev. Same. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 242–248)

Tetradrachms. 246–247. 1 4

166. ΑΤΤΟΚΚΜΙΟΥ (sic) ΦΙΑΠΠ-
ΠΟϸ ϸΘΒ Same type.

Rev. Same. (Not in *Hoard I*)

Tetradrachm. 246–247. 1

167. ΜΑΡΩΤΑΚΙΑϸΘΥΡΑΝ

ϸΘΒ. Bust of Otacilia, r.

Rev. Same. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 249–251)

Tetradrachms. 246–247. 1 6 2

54 SIXTH, SEVENTH, AND TENTH

168. Same inscription. Bust of Otacilia l. 6 7 10

Rev. Same. (Not in *Hoard I*)

Tetradrachms. 246, 247. 2

169. ΜΑΡΙΟΥΤΑΙΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΚΕCΑΡ
Bust of Philip Jr., r., head bare.

Rev. Same. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 252–256)

Tetradrachms. 246, 247. 1 4 6

170. Same inscription. Bust of Philip, Jr., l., head bare.

Rev. Same. (*Hoard I*, No. 257)

Tetradrachms. 246, 247 1 1

171. ΜΑΡΚΙΟΥΤΑΙΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΚΕCΑΡ
Bust of Philip, Jr., r., laur.

Rev. Same. (*B.M.C.* p. 217, No. 547)

Tetradrachm. 246, 247. 1

172. ΑΤΤΟΚΚΜΙΟΥΤΑΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ
CΕB Bust of Philip Sr., r., rad.

Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΞΟΤCΙΑCΤΠΑΤΟΓ
Eagle, head l.; in ex. ANTIOXIA S C.
(Not in *Hoard I*)

Tetradrachm. 248. 1

173. ΑΤΤΟΚΚΜΙΟΥΤΑΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ
CΕB Bust of Philip, Sr., r., rad.

Rev. Same. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 268–270)

Tetradrachms. 248. 2 5

DURA HOARDS

55

174. Same inscription. Bust of Philip, 6 7 10
Sr., l., rad., in cuirass.

Rev. Same. (Not in *Hoard I*)

Tetradrachms. 248. 2

175. Same inscription. Bust of Philip,
Jr., r., laur.

Rev. Same. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 273, 274)

Tetradrachms. 248. 1

176. Same inscription. Bust of Philip
Jr., r., rad.

Rev. Same. (Not in *Hoard I*)

Tetradrachm. 248. 1

177. Same inscription. Bust of Philip,
Jr., l., laur.

Rev. Same. (*Hoard I*, No. 275)

Tetradrachm. 248. 1

178. Same inscription. Bust of Philip,
Jr., l., rad.

Rev. Same. (*Hoard I*, No. 276)

Tetradrachm. 248. 1

179. Same inscription. Bust of Philip,
Sr., r., laur.

Rev. Same inscription. Eagle, head
r.; in ex., ANTIOXIA S C Tail l.; r.
wing behind r. leg. (Not in *Hoard I*)

Tetradrachms. 248. 2 4

56 SIXTH, SEVENTH, AND TENTH

180. Same inscription. Bust of Philip, 6 7 10
Sr., r., rad.

Rev. Same. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 284, 285)

Tetradrachms. 248. 2 3

181. Same inscription. Bust of Philip,
Sr., l., rad., in cuirass.

Rev. Same. (*Hoard I*, No. 291)

Tetradrachm. 248. 1

182. ΜΑΡΙΟΤΑΙΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΚΕCΑΡ
Bust of Philip, Jr., r., rad.

Rev. Same. (*Hoard I*, No. 299)

Tetradrachm. 248. 1 1

183. ΑΤΤΟΚΚΜΙΟΤΑΙΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ
CΕB Bust of Philip, Jr., r., rad.

Rev. Same. (Not in *Hoard I*)

Tetradrachm. 248. 1

184. Same inscription. Bust of Philip,
Sr., r., laur.

Rev. Similar. Eagle's tail l., wings
displayed. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 277–279)

Tetradrachms. 248. 2

185. Same inscription. Bust of Philip,
Sr., r., rad.

Rev. Same. (*Hoard I*, No. 286)

Tetradrachms. 248. 3 3

DURA HOARDS 57

186. Same inscription. Head of Philip, 6 7 10
 Sr., l., rad.
Rev. Same. (Not in *Hoard I*)
 Tetradrachm. 248. 1
187. Same inscription. Bust of Philip,
 Sr., l., rad., in cuirass.
Rev. Same. (*Hoard I*, No. 292)
 Tetradrachm. 248. 1
188. Same inscription. Bust of Philip,
 Jr., r., rad.
Rev. Same. (*Hoard I*, No. 300)
 Tetradrachm. 248. 3 1
189. Same inscription. Bust of Philip,
 Jr., l., laur., in cuirass.
Rev. Same. (Not in *Hoard I*)
 Tetradrachm. 248. 1
190. Same inscription. Bust of Philip,
 Sr., r., rad.
Rev. Similar. Eagle's tail, r., l., wing
 behind l., leg. (*Hoard I*, No. 287)
 Tetradrachms. 248. 2 3
191. Same inscription. Bust of Philip,
 Sr., r., laur.
Rev. Similar. Eagle, tail r., wings dis-
 played. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 280–283)
 Tetradrachms. 248. 4

58 SIXTH, SEVENTH, AND TENTH

192. Same inscription. Bust of Philip, 6 7 10
Sr., r. rad.

Rev. Same. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 288, 289)

Tetradrachms. 248. 4 2

193. Same inscription. Bust of Philip,
Sr., l., rad., in cuirass.

Rev. Same. (*Hoard I*, No. 293)

Tetradrachms. 248. 1 2

194. Same inscription. Bust of Philip,
Sr., l., rad., in cuirass rear view of
shoulders.

Rev. Same. (Not in *Hoard I*)

Tetradrachm. 248. 1

195. ΜΑΡΩΤΑΚΙΑΙΘΘΗΡΑΝ ΚΕΒ
Bust of Otacilia, l.

Rev. Same. (Not in *Hoard I*)

Tetradrachm. 248. 1

196. Same inscription. Bust of Ota-
cilia, r.

Rev. Same. (Not in *Hoard I*)

Tetradrachms. 248. 1 2

197. ΜΑΡΙΟΥΤΑΙΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΚΕCΑΡ
Bust of Philip, Jr., head bare.

Rev. Same. (Not in *Hoard I*)

Tetradrachms. 248. 1 2

198. ΑΥΤΟΚΚΜΙΟΥΑΙΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ 6 7 10
 CEB Bust of Philip, Jr., r., laur.
Rev. Same. (Not in *Hoard I*)
 Tetradrachm. 248. 1
199. Same inscription. Bust of Philip,
 Jr., r., rad.
Rev. Same. (Not in *Hoard I*)
 Tetradrachm. 248. 1
200. Same inscription. Bust of Philip,
 Sr., r., laur.
Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΞΟΤCΙΑCΤΗΑΤΟΔ
 Eagle, head l.; in ex., ANTIOXIA S C.
 (*Hoard I*, Nos. 304–310)
 Tetradrachm. 249. 2 9 7
201. Same inscription. Bust of Philip,
 Sr., r., rad.
Rev. Same. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 311, 312)
 Tetradrachms. 249. 3
202. Same inscription. Bust of Philip,
 Sr., l., laur.
Rev. Same. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 313–316)
 Tetradrachm. 249. 1
203. Same inscription. Bust of Philip,
 Sr., r., laur., in cuirass.
Rev. Same. (Not in *Hoard I*)
 Tetradrachm. 249. 1

60 SIXTH, SEVENTH, AND TENTH

204. Same, but . . . beneath bust. 6 7 10
Rev. Same. (Not in *Hoard I*)
 Tetradrachm. 249. 1

205. Same inscription. Bust of Philip,
 Sr., l., rad., in cuirass.
Rev. Same. (Not in *Hoard I*)
 Tetradrachms. 249. 1

206. Same inscription. Bust of Philip,
 Jr., r., laur.
Rev. Same. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 320–347)
 Tetradrachms. 249. 1 11 16

207. Same inscription. Bust of Philip,
 Jr., r., rad.
Rev. Same. (Not in *Hoard I*)
 Tetradrachm. 249. 1

208. Same inscription. Bust of Philip,
 Sr., r., laur.
Rev. Same inscription. Eagle, head r.;
 in ex., ANTIOXIA S C (*Hoard I*, Nos.
 350–358)
 Tetradrachms. 249. 1 10 8

209. Same inscription. Bust of Philip,
 Sr., r., rad.
Rev. Same. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 359–361)
 Tetradrachms. 249. 3 1

DURA HOARDS

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210. Same inscription. Bust of Philip, 6 7 10
Sr., l., rad.

Rev. Same. (Not in *Hoard I*)

Tetradrachm. 249. 1

211. Same inscription. Head of Philip,
Sr., l., rad.

Rev. Same. (Not in *Hoard I*)

Tetradrachm. 249. 1

212. Same inscription. Bust of Philip,
Sr., l., laur., in cuirass.

Rev. Same. (Not in *Hoard I*)

Tetradrachms. 249. 1 2

213. ΑΤΤΟΚΚΜΙΟΤΑΦΙΑΙΠΠΟC

CEB Bust of Philip, Sr., r., rad.

Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΞΟΥCΙΑCΤΟ (sic)

Same type. (Not in *Hoard I*)

Tetradrachm. 1

214. ΑΤΤΟΚΚΜΙΟΤΑΙΦΙΑΙΠΠΟC

CEB Bust of Philip, Jr., r., laur.

Rev. Inscription and type of No. 211.

(*Hoard I*, Nos. 363–380)

Tetradrachms. 249. 8 11

215. Same inscription. Bust of Philip,
Jr., r., rad.

Rev. Same. (*Hoard I*, No. 381)

Tetradrachm. 249. 1

62 SIXTH, SEVENTH, AND TENTH

216. Same inscription. Bust of Philip, 6 7 10
Jr., l., laur.

Rev. Same. (*Hoard I*, No. 382)

Tetradrachm. 249. 1

217. Same inscription. Bust of Philip,
Jr., r., laur., in cuirass.

Rev. Same. (Not in *Hoard I*)

Tetradrachm. 249. 1

218. Obliterated.

Rev. Same.

Tetradrachm. 249. 1

219. Details illegible.

Tetradrachm. 1

220. IMP M IVL PHILIPPVS AVG
Bust of Philip, Sr., r., rad.

Rev. AEQVITAS AVG Equity l.,
holding scales and cornucopiae. (*Cohen*
V, p. 95, No. 8)

Antoninianus. 1

221. IMP IVL PHILLIPVS PIVS
FEL AVG P M Same type.

Rev. PAX FVNDA CVM PER-
SIS Peace l., with olive branch and
transverse scepter. (*Cohen V*, p. 105,
No. 114)

Antoninianus. 1

DURA HOARDS

63

222. IMP C M IVL PHILLIPVS P 6 7 10
F AVG Same type.

Rev. SPES FELICITAS ORBIS Spes walking l., holding flower and raising robe. (*Cohen V*, p. 116, No. 218)

Antoninianus. 1

223. IMP C M IVL PHILLIPVS P
F AVG PM Same type.

Rev. VIRTVS AVG Soldier standing l., with spear and shield. (Not in *Cohen*)

Antoninianus. 1

224. Same.

Rev. VIRTVS EXERCITVS Soldier r., with spear and shield. (*Cohen V*, p. 118, No. 244)

Antoniniani. 2 1

225. IMP M IVL PHILIPPVS AVG
Bust of Philip, Jr., l., rad., in cuirass.

Rev. CONCORDIA AVGG Concordia seated l., holding patera and cornucopiae. (*Cohen V*, p. 161, No. 8)

Antoninianus. 1

TRAJAN DECIUS, HERENNIA ETRUSCILLA,
HERENNIUS ETRUSCUS AND
HOSTILIAN

249-251

226. ATTKKΓAIMЄKTINΔЄKKIOC
CЄB Bust l., laur.

64 SIXTH, SEVENTH, AND TENTH

Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΩΤΕΙΑC Eagle, 6 7 10
head r.; in ex., S C (Off. 8). (*Hoard I*,
Nos. 386, 387.

Tetradrachms. 249. 3

227. ΑΤΤΚΜΕΚΤΔΕΚΙΟCΤΡΑΙΑΝ-
OC CEB Bust r., laur.

Rev. Same, but eagle's head l. (Off. 1,
2, 3, 4, 5, 8). (*Hoard I*, Nos. 389–402)

Tetradrachms. 250. 6 14

228. Same.

Rev. Same, but eagle's head, r. (Off. 1,
2, 4, 5, 7). (*Hoard I*, Nos. 403–411)

Tetradrachms. 250. 7 5

229. Same inscription. Bust r., rad.

Rev. Same, but eagle's head l. (Off. 1,
3, 4, 5, 7, 8). (*Hoard I*, Nos. 412–419)

Tetradrachms. 250. 2 6

230. Same.

Rev. Same, but eagle's head r. (Off. 1,
2, 3, 4). (*Hoard I*, Nos. 420–424)

Tetradrachms. 250. 9 3

231. ΑΤΤΚΜΕΚΤΤΡΑΙΑΝOC ΔΕΚ-
IOC CEB Bust r., laur.

Rev. Same, but eagle's head l. (Off. 1,
2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8). (*Hoard I*, Nos. 425–
446)

Tetradrachms. 250. 39 32

DURA HOARDS

65

232. Same.	6	7	10
<i>Rev.</i> Same, but eagle's head, r. (Off. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8). (<i>Hoard I</i> , Nos. 447–465)			
Tetradrachms. 250.	55		28
233. Same inscription. Bust r., rad.			
<i>Rev.</i> Same, but eagle's head l. (Off. 8). (<i>Hoard I</i> , Nos. 466–468)			
Tetradrachms. 250.	2		2
234. Same.			
<i>Rev.</i> Same, but eagle's head r. (Off. 3, 4). (<i>Hoard I</i> , Nos. 469–472)			
Tetradrachms. 250.	2		1
235. ΕΡΕΝΝΙΑ ΤΡΟΤΚΙΑΑΑ ΕΒ			
Bust r.			
<i>Rev.</i> Same, but eagle's head l. (Off. 1, 4). (<i>Hoard I</i> , No. 477)			
Tetradrachms. 250.	2		
236. Same.			
<i>Rev.</i> Same, but eagle's head r. (Off. 5). (<i>Hoard I</i> , No. 478)			
Tetradrachm. 250.	1		
237. ΕΡΕΝΝΙΑ ΕΤΡΟΤΚΙΑΑΑ			
ΕΒ Bust r.			
<i>Rev.</i> Same, but eagle's head l. (Off. 1, 2, 3). (<i>Hoard I</i> , No. 473)			
Tetradrachms. 250.	1		2

66 SIXTH, SEVENTH, AND TENTH

238. Same. 6 7 10
Rev. Same, but eagle's head r. (Off.
 1, 2, 6, 8). (*Hoard I*, Nos. 474–476)
 Tetradrachms. 250. 4 2

239. ΕΡΕΝΝΕΤΡΟΤΜΕΚΤΔΕΚΙΟC
 ΚΕCΑΡ Bust r., bare.

Rev. Same, but eagle's head l. (Off.
 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8). (*Hoards I*, Nos.
 479–494)
 Tetradrachms. 250. 44 7

240. Same.
Rev. Same, but eagle's head r. (Off.
 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8). (*Hoard I*, Nos. 495–
 505)
 Tetradrachms. 250. 34 4

241. ΓΟΥΑΛΟCΤΙΑΙΑΝΜΕΚΤΙΝΤ-
 ΟCΚΕCΑΡ Bust r., bare.

Rev. Same, but eagle's head l. (Off.
 1, 6, 7). (*Hoard I*, No. 506)
 Tetradrachms. 250. 3 2

242. Same.
Rev. Same, but eagle's head r. (Off. 1,
 7). (Not in *Hoard I*)
 Tetradrachms. 250. 3



243. ΑΤΤΚΓΜΕΚΤΤΡΑΙΑΝΟCΔΕ- 6 7 10
ΚΙΟCCEB Bust r., laur.

Rev. Eagle, head r., between legs., in
ex., S C (Off. 6, 7). (Not in *Hoard I*)

Tetradrachms. 251. 2

244. ΕΡΕΝΝΕΤΡΟΤΜΕΚΤΔΕΚΙΟC
ΚΕCΑΡ Bust r., head bare.

Rev. Same. (Off. vi). (Cf. *Hoard I*, No.
508 Hostilian)

Tetradrachm. 251. 1

245. ΑΤΤΚΓΜΕΚΤΤΡΑΙΑΝΟCΔΕ-
ΚΙΟC CEB Bust l., rad., in cuirass.

Rev. Eagle on palm branch, head l.; in
ex., S C (Off. 2). (Cf. *Hoard II*, No. 67)

Tetradrachm. 251. 1

TREBONIANUS GALLUS AND VOLUSIAN

251-253

246. ΑΤΤΟΚΚΤΟΤΙΒΤΡΕΒΓΑΛΛΟC
CEB Bust l., laur.

Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΞΟΤCΙΑC Eagle,
head l.; in ex., S C. (Off. 7). (*Hoard I*,
No. 537)

Tetradrachm. 251. 1

247. Same.

Rev. Same, but eagle's head r. (Off. 7).
(*Hoard I*, Nos. 538, 539)

Tetradrachm. 251. 1

68 SIXTH, SEVENTH, AND TENTH

248. Same inscription. Bust r., laur. 6 7 10
Rev. Same, but eagle's head l. (Off. 1,
 2, 3, 4, 6, 7). (*Hoard I*, Nos. 540-567)
 Tetradrachms. 251. 6 21

249. Same.
Rev. Same, but eagle's head r. (Off.
 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7). (*Hoard I*, Nos. 568-588)
 Tetradrachms. 251. 6 14

250. ΑΥΤΟΚΚΓΑΦΙΝΓΑΛΟΤΕΝΔΟ-
 ΤΟΛΟΤCΙΑΝΟC CEB Bust r., rad.
Rev. Same, but eagle's head l. (Off. 2,
 3, 6). (*Hoard I*, Nos. 589-592)
 Tetradrachms. 251. 1 3

251. Same.
Rev. Same, but eagle's head r. (Off. 3).
 (*Hoard I*, Nos. 593-596)
 Tetradrachm. 251. 1

252. ΑΥΤΟΚΚΓΟΤΙΒΤΡΕΒΓΑΛΛΟC
 CEB Bust r., laur.
Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΞΟΤCΙΑCΥΠΑΤΟΒ
 Eagle, head l.; in ex., S C (Off. 1, 2, 3,
 4, 6, 7). (*Hoard I*, Nos. 597-606)
 Tetradrachms. 252. 23 9

253. Same.
Rev. Same, but eagle's head r. (Off. 1,
 2, 3, 4, 6, 7). (*Hoard I*, Nos. 608-617)
 Tetradrachms. 252. 6 6

DURA HOARDS

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254. ΑΤΤΟΚΚΓΑΦΙΝΓΑΛΟΤΕΝΔΟΤ- 6 7 10
ΟΛΟΤCIANOC CEB Bust r., rad.

Rev. Same, but eagle's head, l. (Off.
1). (Not in *Hoard I*)
Tetradrachm. 252. 1

255. Same.
Rev. Same, but eagle's head r. (Off.
4). (Not in *Hoard I*)
Tetradrachm. 252. 1

256. ΑΤΤΟΚΚΓΟΤΙΒΤΡΕΒΓΑΛΛΟC
CEB Bust r., laur.
Rev. Same inscription. Eagle, head l.;
beneath wings, S C. (Off. 1, 3, 4, 6).
(*Hoard I*, Nos. 618–631)
Tetradrachms. 253. 3 9

257. Same.
Rev. Same, but eagle's head r. (Off. 3,
4, 6). (*Hoard I*, Nos. 632–651)
Tetradrachms. 253. 2 5

258. IMP C C VIB TREB GALLVS
P F AVG Bust r., rad.
Rev. ADVENTVS AVG Emperor on
horseback, l.; raising r., holding scepter
in l. (Off. 1, 6, 7). (*Hoard I*, No. 654)
Antoniniani. Antioch. 4

70 SIXTH, SEVENTH, AND TENTH

259. Same. 6 7 10
Rev. AEQVITAS AVG Aequitas l.,
 with scales and cornucopiae. (Off. 1, 3,
 7). (*Hoard I*, Nos. 656–661)
 Antoniniani. Antioch. 5
260. Same.
Rev. Same. (No officina mark.) (Not
 in *Hoard I*)
 Antoninianus. Antioch? 1
261. Same.
Rev. FELICITAS PVBL Felicitas l.,
 holding caduceus and cornucopiae. (Off.
 3, 7). (*Hoard I*, Nos. 662–668)
 Antoniniani. Antioch. 3
262. Same.
Rev. Same. (No officina mark.)
 (*Hoard I*, Nos. 669–673)
 Antoniniani. Antioch? 4
263. Same.
Rev. IVNO MARTIALIS Juno
 seated l., holding in r., ears of wheat, in
 l., scepter. (Off. 1, 3, 6). (*Hoard I*, Nos.
 674–676)
 Antoniniani. Antioch. 1 6

DURA HOARDS

71

264. Same.

6 7 10

Rev. MARTEM PROPVGNA-
TOREM Mars, helmeted, walking r.,
holding in r., transverse spear, on l.,
arm, shield. (No officina mark.) (*Hoard*
I, Nos. 677, 678)

Antoninianus. Antioch?

1

265. Same.

Rev. PAX AVGVS Pax l., holding in
upraised r., branch; in l., transverse
scepter. (Off. 4, 7). (*Hoard I*, Nos.
482-484)

Antoniniani. Antioch.

2

266. Same.

Rev. ROMAE AETERNAE AVG
Rome seated l., holding in outstretched
hand Victory; with l., leaning on spear;
beside her, shield. (Off. 7). (*Hoard I*,
Nos. 685, 686)

Antoninianus. Antioch.

1

267. Same.

Rev. SAECVLVM NOVVM Hexa-
style temple, within which figure seated
facing, holding in l., long scepter. (Off.
2). (*Hoard I*, No. 688)

Antoninianus. Antioch.

1

72 SIXTH, SEVENTH, AND TENTH

268. Same. 6 7 10
Rev. VICTORIA AVG Victory walk-
 ing l., holding wreath and palm. (Off.
 6). (Cf. *Hoard I*, No. 689)
 Antoninianus. Antioch. 1
269. Same.
Rev. Same. (No officina mark). (Cf.
Hoard I, No. 689)
 Antoniniani. Antioch? 2
- VALERIAN 253-260
 GALLIENUS 253-268
270. IMP C P LIC VALERIANVS
 AVG Bust r., rad.
Rev. LAETITIA AVG Laetitia stand-
 ing l., in r. holding wreath; with l., lean-
 ing on anchor. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 771-779)
 Antoniniani. Rome 254. 24
271. Same.
Rev. ROMAE AETERNAE Rome
 seated l., holding in r., Victory, with l.,
 leaning on spear, beside her, shield.
 (*Hoard I*, Nos. 780-782)
 Antoniniani. Rome 254. 17
272. Same.
Rev. VICTORIA AVGG Victory l.,
 in r., wreath, in l., palm. (*Hoard I*, Nos.
 783-786)
 Antoninianus. Rome 254. 1

DURA HOARDS

73

273. Same. 6 7 10
Rev. VIRTVS AVGG Soldier l., leaning with r. on shield, with l., on spear. (*Hoard I*, No. 787)
 Antoniniani. Rome 254. 2
274. IMP C P LIC VALERIANVS
 P F AVG Bust r., rad.
Rev. AETERNITATI AVGG Sol l., r. hand raised; in l., globe. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 692–695)
 Antoniniani. Antioch 256. 2
275. Same.
Rev. LAETITIA AVG Laetitia standing l.; in r., holding wreath; with l., leaning on anchor. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 696–701)
 Antoniniani. Antioch 256. 4
276. Same.
Rev. ROMAE AETERNAE Rome seated l., holding in r., victory; with l., leaning on spear; beside her, shield. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 718–725)
 Antoniniani. Antioch 256. 2
277. Same.
Rev. SALVS AVGG Salus r.; with l., feeding serpent twined around her. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 729–735)
 Antoniniani. Antioch 256. 17

74 SIXTH, SEVENTH, AND TENTH

278. Same. 6 7 10

Rev. VENVS VICTRIX Venus l., holding in r., crested helmet, in l., transverse scepter; l. elbow leaning on shield. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 736-738)

Antoniniani. Antioch 256. 6

279. Same.

Rev. VIRTVS AVGG Soldier l., leaning with r., on shield, with l., on spear. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 751-769)

Antoniniani. Antioch 256. 2

280. IMP C P LIC GALLIENVS AVG Bust r., rad.

Rev. LAETITIA AVGG Laetitia l., in r., holding wreath, with l., leaning on anchor. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 702-717)

Antoniniani. Antioch 256. 4

281. Same.

Rev. ROMAE AETERNAE Rome seated l., holding in r., Victory, with l., leaning on spear; beside her, shield. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 726-728)

Antoniniani. Antioch (or Rome) 256. 4

282. Same.

Rev. VENVS VICTRIX. Venus, l., holding in r., crested helmet; in l., transverse scepter; l., elbow leaning on shield. (*Hoard I*, Nos. 739-743)

Antoniniani. Antioch 256. 7

DURA HOARDS

75

283. Same.

6 7 10

Rev. VICTORIA AVG Victory l.,
holding in r., wreath, in l., palm. (*Hoard*
I, Nos. 744–748)

Antoniniani. Antioch 256.

7

Bronze

GORDIAN III

238–244

284. Bust r., rad.

Rev. Bust of Tyche, r. Details ob-
scure. (*B.M.C.* p. 134, No. 1)

Singara.

1

PLATES

DURA HOARDS VI, VII, X.

PLATE I



2.



5.



12.



14.



DURA HOARDS VI, VII, X.



15.



16.



18.



19.



PLATE II



21.



22.



24.



26.



DURA HOARDS VI, VII, X.



27.



31.



33.



37.



PLATE III



45.



47.



48.



49.



DURA HOARDS VI, VII, X.



50.



52.



53.



54.



PLATE IV



56.



59.



60.



61.



DURA HOARDS VI, VII, X.

PLATE I



2.



5.



12.



14.



DURA HOARDS VI, VII, X.



15.



16.



18.



19.



PLATE II



21.



22.



24.



26.



DURA HOARDS VI, VII, X.



27.



31.



33.



37.



PLATE III



45.



47.



48.



49.



DURA HOARDS VI, VII, X.



50.



52.



53.



54.



PLATE IV



56.



59.



60.



61.



DURA HOARDS VI, VII, X

PLATE V



62.



63.



64.



113.



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NUMISMATIC NOTES
AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 70



GREEK BRONZE COINS FROM A
WELL AT MEGARA

BY
FREDERICK O. WAAGE

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
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GREEK BRONZE COINS FROM
A WELL AT MEGARA

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ERRATA

In preparing the plates showing the coins from the well at Megara (Monograph 70) it was decided to include five coins which had responded beyond expectations to a last effort to clean a residue previously set aside as too indistinct for reproduction. These were inserted on the last plate and three pieces were pushed forward from that plate to Plate II. Unfortunately the text references were not changed to agree with the rearranged plate. The responsibility for this omission rests solely upon the Editor and in no sense reflects upon the author. The corrected plate references are as follows:

Page 31, I, 1. Illustrated, Pl. III, 8.
Page 35, for Pl. III, 1, read Pl. II, 20.
 for Pl. III, 2, read Pl. II, 21.
 for Pl. III, 3, read Pl. II, 22.
 for Pl. III, 4, read Pl. III, 1.
 for Pl. III, 5, read Pl. III, 2.
 for Pl. III, 6, read Pl. III, 3.
 for Pl. III, 7-8, read Pl. III, 4-5.
 for Pl. III, 9, read Pl. III, 6.
 for Pl. III, 10, read Pl. III, 7.
Page 37, 1. Illustrated, Pl. III, 9.
Page 37, for Pl. III, 11, read Pl. III, 10.
 for Pl. III, 12, read Pl. III, 11.
 for Pl. III, 13, read Pl. III, 12.
Page 38, for Pl. III, 14, read Pl. III, 15.
 for Pl. III, 15, read Pl. III, 14.
 (Reverse upside down.)
Page 38, for Pl. III, 16, read Pl. III, 13.
 (Reverse on r. side.)
Page 38, for Pl. III, 17, read Pl. III, 16.
 for Pl. III, 18, read Pl. III, 17.
 for Pl. III, 19, read Pl. III, 18.
Page 39, for Pl. III, 20, read Pl. III, 19.
Page 39, 17. Illustrated, Pl. III, 20.
 18. Illustrated, Pl. III, 21.
 20. Illustrated, Pl. III, 22.

GREEK BRONZE COINS FROM A WELL AT MEGARA

BY FREDERICK O. WAAGE

In 1929 a citizen of Megara, in the process of deepening an ancient well on his property during the dry season, discovered that the earth of the fill contained a number of small bronze coins.¹ The following year, when drought made it possible, the operation was continued with the result that a few more coins came to light and in addition, a complete Hellenistic bowl of the embolion type.² The

¹ The coins found in 1929 have been acquired by the American Numismatic Society. Of those recovered the following season, 83 are in the possession of Professor F. J. M. de Waele of the University of Nijmegen, Netherlands, and 26 belong to Professor W. A. Campbell of Wellesley College. These gentlemen have kindly allowed me to include their coins in this report; the initials deW. and W.A.C. will be used to distinguish them. Mr. E. T. Newell has taken the trouble to check over the coins of 1929 very carefully and in addition to the accredited observations in the text and notes, I am indebted to him for the identification of the coins from Rome, Zacynthus, Gortyna and Cyzicus. Greek names have been Latinized to conform with the practice of this series of publications.

² The bowl, now in the museum at Old Corinth, Greece, is one of the kind described as "vases à médaillon" by Courby in *Les vases grecs à reliefs*. The medallion represents the common osculatory scene of which other examples are noted by Courby on his pages 234 and 235.

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first year 573 coins were recovered, the second, 109. Due to their long immersion in the mud and water they all carry an unmistakable patina of a light grayish and powdery green color; the action of this was corrosive rather than protective so that most of the coins had to be cleaned in order to render them legible.

Dismissing for the moment a discussion of the reason for their presence in the well, one may note that apparently not more than two metres' depth of earth was removed in all so that the concentration of the coins was fairly great. If the much diminished number of coins from the second season's clearing is any indication, it would seem that the productive powers of the well have been nearly exhausted; on the other hand the difference may be due to a smaller quantity of earth having been removed, in which case more may yet turn up. It is probable, however, that they would merely duplicate and not add to the series brought to light so far, since those of the second year do not differ in their types. Likewise the two towns of Megara and Sicyon are represented in almost the same proportion:

	1929	1930
Megara	234	39
Sicyon	296	61
Other mints	18	2
Illegible	25	7
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Totals	573	109 = 682

MEGARA

The autonomous bronze coins of Megara are sufficiently comprehensive to justify an attempt at chronological arrangement.³ In addition to one new type, almost all the known types and varieties dated by Head (*B.M.C. Attica*) between ca. 307–243 are present; those lacking are: *B.M.C. Attica*, Nos. 11–15, head of Apollo r. laur. and lyre with ΜΕΓΑΡΕΩΝ on obv. or rev. and Nos. 40–42, M E, tripod and dolphin r., border of dots. On the other hand there appear none of the three types dated ca. 146 or later, *B.M.C. Attica*, Nos. 43–45. The coins can be divided into nine groups according to their different types. Of these the first five are characterized by excellent workmanship in the preparation and striking of the flans; in a given group and denomination there is a minimum of variation in size and weight.

These five groups, while thus individually uniform, show severally a varying scale of weights

³ To save unnecessary and wearisome repetition, the following references will be quoted once and for all: for information on the history of the times, W. W. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*; on the coins of Demetrius, E. T. Newell, *The Coinages of Demetrius Poliorcetes*; on Megarian history, E. L. Highbarger, *The History and Civilization of Ancient Megara*, especially chapter XV.

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and sizes. Calculating from the small denomination which occurs in II, III and V (I is definitely linked with II and IV with III by similarity of type) one can arrange the groups in an ascending or descending order according to that scale. Fortunately, we are not left in doubt as to whether the increasing or decreasing is the correct order, for we know which group comes first—the one belonging with the silver issue of the end of the fourth century—and it is the heaviest. But need the chronological parallel the weight sequence? That, on the face of it, is of the greatest likelihood, for at a time when the value of bronze, if varying at all, was decreasing, the presumption of a succession of issues now heavy, now light, now heavy again can find no rational advocacy. And that the logical is also the correct order is indicated if not actually proved by two considerations.

In the first place, the later issues, VI–IX, do not know the small denomination but only one of about 15 mm. (ca. 2.20 gm.; in the last two groups, VIII and IX, there is an increase in weight per coin); in group V this same coin (of about 14.5 mm. and 2.0 gm.) appears, while the small denomination of the earlier issues has shrunk to be a tiny coin of 11.3 mm. (1.30 gm.). The conclusion must be that V immediately precedes VI–IX for only thus can one explain in the latter the absence of the small denomination—unhandily little already and incapable of further diminution

—and the presence of the larger one alone. This is substantiated, in the second place, by the history of the time. Worn out by the yearly depredations of Athens towards the end of the fifth century, Megara took advantage of her neighbors' rivalries in the ensuing decades to recuperate, to such a degree, indeed, that Isocrates in *Peace* found cause to utter jealous praise of her prosperity about the year 355—an economic health the continuance of which at least until the end of the fourth century is attested by the issue of silver already referred to. Whatever pictures of hard times may be drawn from Megara's paucity of men-at-arms in the third century—that the two facts are not related necessarily Isocrates' statement itself implies—the wars of the Antigonids cannot but have had a deleterious effect upon the whole country of Greece. Whenever chance permitted, rebellion against their suzerainty arose and although it was always in the name of freedom and independence, the pure flame of patriotism does not often burst ablaze without the spark of economic discontent to set it off. Taxation there was, whether direct or passing under some euphemistic name—quartering of troops or their passage through a district—both exactions of the pro-Macedonian parties when in power. Megara was well off at the very beginning of the third century; the following years could not improve her situation and must certainly have weakened it.

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And this is just what the coins would illustrate; a sequence of gradual decrease in weight, betraying repeated inflation, gives patent evidence of a decline in prosperity such as Megara experienced in the first half of the third century.

After series V the weight sinks still lower in VI then rises gradually and increasingly in VII, VIII and IX, circumstances with which the contemporary history may again be seen to correspond. But there are other criteria for determining the sequence of these groups; the die position, after the adoption of the new reverse type in VI, becomes more and more variable until in IX it can hardly be called fixed at all; the workmanship of the coins deteriorates, differences in the size and weight among coins of the same type growing more pronounced. Most important, however, is the evidence from the reverse type; VI shows clearly the earliest form of that reverse type common to all the later coins, and VII one which is intermediate between VI and VIII-IX; so their places are set thereby. No such difference is apparent in VIII and IX but the other points of comparison, in particular the extreme carelessness in the striking of IX, indicate last place for it.

So the order of the series had been arranged before any attempt was made to link up the separate issues with the history of the times. That plausible correspondences were found in several cases was only to be expected; the internal evi-

dence of the coins themselves determines their proper sequence and only lack of knowledge of the political history prevents the certain reconstruction of the numismatic. It is, of course, purely as suggestions that the attributions below are advanced, but the conformity apparent in the progression as a whole lends support to the validity of each separately.

Since specimens of the large bronze (*B.M.C. Attica*, Nos. 11–14) are lacking, the first of our series are those of the two smaller denominations.

I. Head of Apollo r., MEΓA
laur. PEΩN Tripod. Pl. I, 1.

(1). ↑; 16.5 mm.; 3.92 gm.; not cleaned.

(2). ↗; 16.5 mm.; 3.38 gm.; cleaned.

(3). ↑; 15.4 mm.; 3.92 gm.; cleaned.

(*B.M.C. Attica*, Nos. 16–18.)

II. as above, but in ME in laurel wreath up-
dotted circle. Γ wards. Pl. I, 2, 3.

(1). ↗; 15.0 mm.; 4.12 gm.; not cleaned.

(2)–(16). ↑ or slightly off to r. or l.; average 14.6 mm.; aver. of (2)–(11), 3.17 gm.; cleaned.

(17). 14.5 mm.; deW.

(*B.M.C. Attica*, Nos. 19 and 20.)

These two types, along with the large bronze, are definitely connected with the similar issue of silver on which the Apollo head occurs. The silver coins belong at the end of the fourth century

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and Head has attempted to fix the date as 307, the year in which Demetrius Poliorcetes freed Athens and Megara from the overlordship of Cassander, on the basis of a supposed resemblance between the head of Apollo and the features of Demetrius. But Mr. Newell points out that although the date itself is reasonably correct in view of the political and economic situation of Megara, the matter of likeness has been considerably overrated and is due rather to the similarity of style which characterized the period; furthermore, that the style of type II, as seen in the rather coarse Apollo head surrounded by a dotted circle, and the fixed dies of I and II, contrast to some extent with the silver and the large bronze whose dies were not fixed and therefore the small bronze may not have formed part of the same issue.⁴ Thus it is impossible to set the issue of silver definitely in the year 307 howsoever probable that may be and it is likely that the small bronze appeared in issues successive to rather than contemporary with the silver and

⁴“Judging by specimens which happen to be in my collection, it is far from certain that the dies of the silver or of the largest bronze pieces were fixed. My examples give the following results: one silver hemidrachm and one large bronze have their dies ↑↑; one drachm and one large bronze have their dies placed ↑→; one large bronze has ↑←; two large bronzes have ↑↓; one drachm and two large bronzes have ↑↙; one large bronze has ↑↘. It would require the careful comparison and tabulation of a very much larger number of specimens to determine whether any one of these positions had been intentional.” E. T. Newell.

large bronze. There is, however, no reason to believe that many years separated these coins which have the Apollo head, and the careless workmanship of II does not move it farther away from type I and the silver coins so much as it moves it nearer to III. Types II and III stand out between I and IV as illustrative of a marked, but temporary, decline in the art of die-cutting; its very impermanence proves that passage of time was not the cause but rather some casual factor such as a hasty preparation of the issues.

It is tempting to see in the fixed dies of the small bronze—fixed by hand as the slight variations show—an influence of Demetrius' entrance upon the scene. The custom seems to have originated in Asia Minor and all the Besieger's coins from that region are so struck; his issues in Greece are not nor are almost all coins of Greece although Chalcis and Eretria had adopted the practice as early as the middle of the fourth century.⁵ Therefore it looks suspicious to find fixed dies on Megarian coins which are roughly synchronous with his arrival and it is probably an indication that they are not too far removed from it in date. At Megara dies remained fixed up to the introduction of a new reverse type which did not possess the simple verticality of the old and even thereafter a tendency towards fixation persists.

⁵ Newell, *The Coinages of Demetrius Poliorcetes*, pp. 140 ff.

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III. MEΓA Prow 1. Tripod between two
without akrostolion? dolphins upwards; bor-
der of dots. Pl. I, 4-6.

(1)-(20). ⤴ as before; aver., 13.2 mm.; 2.26 gm.;
not cleaned.

(21)-(76). ⤴ as before; aver., 13.1 mm.; aver. of
(21)-(60), 2.09 gm.; cleaned.

(77)-(84). deW.

(*B.M.C. Attica*, No. 34; Grose, Pl. 212, No. 9.)

This series is closely connected with the preceding for a rather antithetical pair of characteristics mark them off distinctly from the other coins of Megara; along with noticeably inferior die-cutting there goes a careful preparation and striking of the flans which results in far greater uniformity of size and accuracy in centering. Here appear for the first time the types to be constant in the future, the prow and the dolphins. But this prow raises some difficulties. In the first place, the forward-reaching, spout-like shape of the stolos is extraordinary; most like it at Megara is the prow of type V but even there the stolos rises almost vertically and ends in a distinct bend forward. And the second odd feature about the prow of type III is the marked shortness of the stolos; the length varies with different coins yet often there is almost no stolos proper and the prow seems merely to be brought to a point raised at an angle of about 45 degrees. (Pl. I, No. 6.)

Since this prow is almost unique on the coins, the carelessness which marks this issue might be held responsible for distorting a form like that of type V. But the shortness of it is something different. This must have been purposeful and naturally it calls to mind Demetrius' issues whereon there is represented the prow of a defeated galley, from which the akrostolion has been sawn off as a trophy by the victors. It is true, as Mr. Newell remarks, that these prows are of the Greek swan's-neck type with the break coming after the stolos has begun to curve upwards and backwards, and that a notch is indicated at the mutilated extremity. Yet even among Demetrius' own coins there is no rigid uniformity in either the angle of the prow nor the accurate depiction of the notch. On some of his small silver and bronze struck at Tarsus, the notch is smoothed away and the broken end rounded off.⁶ On one drachma in particular, the prow is quite like that seen on several of the coins of type III; the stub rises straight at an angle of 45 degrees without the usual curve backwards and the top is cut off level without a notch.⁷

⁶ *Ibid.*, Pl. IV, Nos. 4, 8, 13, 15.

⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 16. The only other prow like this, on a coin of Aradus in Phoenicia ascribed to a later date, is so similar that one wonders whether it can have any connection with the Antigonids: L. Anson, *Numismatica Graeca*, V, No. 918 = G. Macdonald, *Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection*, III, p. 228, Nos. 22 ff. (ca. 259-243 B.C.). Anson, *loc. cit.*, No. 919 = Macdonald, p. 226, No. 10 (dated 184-138 B.C.) repeats the same kind of prow.

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The absence of the refinement of the notched break is not surprising in these Megarian coins of distinctly inferior quality and this last factor could readily have combined with a misunderstanding of the motive to produce the strange form of the prow and the variations in its length which some specimens show.

If, as seems not improbable, type III actually represents a defeated galley, the reference to Demetrius is certain. He first struck coins with this motive in Asia Minor ca. 301–294 and subsequently, ca. 294–292, the Macedonian issues began. With time allowed for these to circulate and become familiar and a reasonable lapse granted since the minting of the last bronze series, this issue would fall in the final years of Demetrius' career. If, however, the prow is not that of a defeated galley, it is still to be connected with Demetrius. Apart from the Tarsus drachma and our type V, there are only two other coins of the period which approximate its shape and they are of Demetrias, the town which Demetrius renamed and established as one of his strongholds in Greece.⁸ The prows of both of these are short and rise at a slightly steeper angle than 45 degrees. That which appears on the coin in the British Museum (the later of the two?) ends in a rounded

⁸ Anson, *loc. cit.*, Nos. 647 and 770 = *B. M. C. Thessaly*, Pl. III, No. 1; the date of the former is quoted as 290 B.C. and the latter is assigned to 302–286 B.C.

protrusion and so is like the prow of type V. The top of the other is merely rounded off; it may very well be another version of Demetrius' defeated galley and thus support this identification for the Megara prow. If it is not, these coins still offer two of the only parallels for the shape of the prow and so connect type III with Demetrius. Indeed, without hypothesizing a reference to the great Besieger, we are at a loss to explain the presence of this form at Megara instead of the strictly Greek swan's-neck stolos which appears on most of the Megarian issues and on those of other Greek towns in this period.⁹ Megara seems to have been much attached to him at first and manifested its friendliness upon several occasions; even when other cities took advantage of misfortunes to attempt to shake off his suzerainty in 301, Megara remained loyal and thither were transported his wife and treasures for safekeeping. Perhaps a fitting occasion for the issue is offered in the year 288/7 which Demetrius spent in Greece travelling about in an effort to win support and favor for the purpose of recouping his fortunes in the East. The great number of these coins may indicate that they were struck throughout a longer period and of course there are no certain grounds for limiting the issue solely to one year. The uni-

⁹ The swan's-neck prow goes back to Geometric times in Greece: Daremberg and Saglio, *s.v. navis*, Figs. 5264 and 5265.

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formity of it as a whole, however, coupled with the fact of Megara's affluence at the time as exemplified in the previous generous issues of silver and bronze, leads one to regard it rather as a single particularly heavy issue than a repeated series, less prolific but longer continued.

Head (*Historia Numorum*) would see in the prow on Megarian coins a copy of one preserved from ancient days which Pausanias mentions (i, 40.5); the periegete, however, does not say that the prow was preserved but only the bronze ram—his words are: ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ ναῷ τριήρους ἀνάκειται χαλκοῦν ἔμβολον· and in any case the shape of the prow and the varying length of the stolos proves that it cannot have been copied either from a Greek prow or from one particular and well-known specimen. As for the type itself, the prow, its persistence, notwithstanding various modifications, throughout all subsequent issues gives evidence that reference to Demetrius may not have been sole reason for its choice. It was indeed a happy one for, flattering the sovereign power primarily, it remained at the same time most appropriate to a town whose prowess in its palmy days had lain in ships, serving as a reminder of past glories and prominence. Just as apt for sea-faring folk were the dolphins whose appearance here, to be sure, is an encore rather than a debut.¹⁰

¹⁰ In addition to the silver issue which comes at the end of

BRONZE COINS FROM MEGARA 15

IV. ΜΕΓΑ above as above. Pl. I, 7.
Prow 1.

- (1). ↓; 16.3 mm.; 2.45 gm.; not cleaned.
- (2). ↗; 15.4 mm.; 2.12 gm.; cleaned.
- (3). ↖; cleaned.
- (4). ↑; cleaned.
- (5)–(6). 16.0 mm.; cleaned; deW.
- (*B.M.C. Attica*, Nos. 30–33.)¹¹

The prow of these larger coins differs noticeably from that on III not only in the presence of the akrostolion but even more so in the shape of the stolos; on III it projects markedly in a pronounced forward slope to the point where it ends, resembling the spout of a sauceboat, whereas in IV, the common and specifically Greek type, it rises steeply, bending inwards then outwards in a swan's-neck curve; furthermore the fo'c'sle of IV is much more prominent and heavy and the top ram runs parallel to the lower instead of pointing

the fifth century, Seltman would attribute to Megara in the seventh and sixth centuries several coins with dolphins as types: *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1926, p. 139.

¹¹ "Examples in my collection have their die positions: ↑↑ (two specimens); ↑↗ (one specimen). There seems also to have been an intermediary issue here (not represented in the Megara find) with the inscription ΜΕΓΑ *beneath* the prow. The reverse type is a very neatly drawn, elegant tripod between two dolphins. One specimen in my collection displays a prow which in many respects is closest to that of type III, but having the tall, swan-like acrostolion of the succeeding issues. The die positions of my two specimens are ↑↓ and ↑↘." E. T. Newell.

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upwards at a slight angle. Although the reverse types are alike, the difference in the obverse, together with the small number of these coins as compared with those of III, militates against their being a larger denomination of the same issue; they cannot be far removed from it yet they are not of it.

Now if a type of prow associated with the Antigonids implies a recognition of their ascendancy, the old Greek form might herald the recovery of autonomy. In the troubled years following Demetrius' departure from Greece and his subsequent defeat and capture, occasions for a new issue might have been offered but no time was more appropriate than the year 279. In the preceding year Ceraunus had gained a complete victory at sea over Antigonus Gonatas and his fleet; this, for a son of Demetrius, was a particular disgrace and made the defeat doubly ignoble. The Greek cities immediately reacted, rising in revolt against him, and in 279 we find Megara free and independent. May we see in the adoption of the somewhat different, undefeated prow a repudiation of Antigonus' influence? The previous issue had been a plenteous one and both to avoid confusion with it and because there was a surfeit of that value a larger one was struck. The flan, although larger, was also thinner and proportionally lighter; it must have passed current for some multiple of the denomination of type III and so gave opportunity

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for inflation. The apparently small number of this issue indicates that it was not coined for long, a circumstance which fits well the date suggested for it.

V. MEΓA Prow 1.

Obelisk, bound with fillet, of Apollo Karinus between two dolphins upwards; border of dots.

a. Unit. Pl. I, 8.

- (1). ⤴; 16.6 mm.; 1.49 gm.; not cleaned.
- (2). ⤴; 15.2 mm.; 1.87 gm.; not cleaned.
- (3). ⤴; 13.9 mm.; 1.99 gm.; not cleaned.
- (4). ⤴; 13.6 mm.; 2.12 gm.; not cleaned.
- (5). ⤵; 14.0 mm.; 2.45 gm.; not cleaned.
- (6)–(7). ⤴; aver. 14.5 mm.; aver. of (6) and (7), 1.63 gm.; cleaned.
- (8)–(9). →; cleaned.

b. Fraction. Pl. I, 9, 10.

- (1). ⤴; 12.0 mm.; 1.11 gm.; not cleaned; fillet halfway down obelisk.
- (2)–(7). ←, ⤴⤴⤴, ⤵; aver. 11.3 mm.; aver. of (2)–(5), 1.27 gm.; cleaned; fillet not visible. (*B.M.C. Attica*, Nos. 35–39.)¹²

This issue, while marking a slightly downward step in careful minting, comes closest to equaling the uniformity of fabric which characterizes the preceding. Most of the flans are sturdy and

¹² "The two specimens in my collection of Va have their die positions ⤴←. Two examples of Vb have their dies placed ⤴⤴." E. T. Newell.

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well-rounded although a few are spread thin by overheating or overstriking as happens so frequently in the succeeding classes. The types as well as fabric are similar to III; the reverse shows the same dolphins in a border of small dots and between them, instead of a tripod, an even more patent symbol of Apollo at Megara, the obelisk. On the obverse, the prow is conclusive of close connection with III; the stolos has a similar outward reach but varies from that of III in the greater steepness of its rise and in the fact that it is certainly intact, continuing upwards unbroken and ending in an outward, forward turn. Yet the striking thing is not the minor variation from III but the great difference from IV which thereby presupposes a conscious effort to approximate the former. It has been noted already that this form of prow, ending in a small forward roll, is extremely rare. Only the coin from Demetrias in the British Museum offers an exact parallel; if Gardner is correct in saying that the coinage of the town cannot be given to a much later date than Demetrius' death, this may then hold for type V as well.¹³ A connection with the Antigonids is necessitated in any case.

Can influence in the matter of coin types match that in the field of politics? Events in Greece directly following 279 are not well known but at any rate, by reason of the victory over the Gauls and

¹³ *B. M. C. Thessaly*, p. xxviii.

the acquisition of Macedon in 277, Antigonos was in a position to reaffirm his eminence in Greece. In garrisoning only the key positions of Chalcis, Corinth and Piraeus he dominated the country by forestalling concerted attempts to dislodge him. Thus secured he did not need to arouse enmity in the less important towns by unnecessary subjugation since up until 266 his policy was one of conciliation where possible. As at Athens, so elsewhere the seating or casting out of the pro-Macedon party would be the measure of Antigonos' influence and popularity. That Megara was really a part of his kingdom at this time, and so under the restriction concerning the striking of coins, is most unlikely; the regulation, indeed, may have applied only to silver. To this period between 277 and 266, at least, an issue of coins bearing the type of prow which appears on coins of the town of the eponymous Besieger fits well since thereafter Megara was either hostile or completely subject to his son.

The remaining issues represented by our coins are of the type obverse, Prow, reverse, MEΓ or MEΓA between two dolphins swimming in a circle. Of this there are four major varieties, one of which is made up of two minor, so that the issues must have covered a fair extent of time. Two of the former are set apart by pronounced characteristics as well from each other as from the remaining varieties.

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VI. Prow r. Fillet tied MEF between dolphins
to the stolos. swimming l. in circle;
border of dots. Pl. I, 11.

- (1). ↑;¹⁴ 14.7 mm.; 1.51 gm.; not cleaned.
- (2). ↘; 15.1 mm.; 1.42 gm.; cleaned.
- (3). ↗; 13.4 mm.; 1.55 gm.; cleaned.
- (4). ↗; 13.5 mm.; 2.27 gm.; cleaned.
- (5). ↗; 14 mm.; 2.08 gm.; cleaned.
- (6). ↗; 14.5 mm.; W. A. C.

This interesting coin, apparently uncatalogued, presents us with a new kind of prow, that one of which the stolos curves inwards to end in a thick, roundish akrostolion. A well-preserved specimen in Mr. Newell's collection shows the fillet plainly and also traces of the fo'c'sle. These examples are too few to permit of accurate placement on the basis of fabric alone and at first sight the obverse seems to offer a type of prow which fits in ill with the others, differing as it does in shape and position. The reverse, however, betrays its connections. The two dolphins swimming from right to left are much twisted, head down, tail up, in a sort of ∞ curve and do not describe the crescent of the left-to-right dolphins of VIII and IX (Pl. I, 14–22). Twisted just like these, too, are the dolphins which appear upright on each side of the

¹⁴ In recording the die positions of this and the following types, the point of the arrow denotes the M of the ethnic. The pairs of arrows show the alternative of positions when the ethnic is illegible.

obelisk or tripod of the preceding issues (Pl. I, 4–10) and it can be only that we here see the first attempt to arrange the animals in a circular position; no effort was made to have the bodies follow a uniform curve and all that was done was to take one of the pair of upright dolphins and stand him on his head. Those of series VII are more straightened out yet still show a trace of their original geniculated pose while in VIII and IX they swim around framing the inscription between two perfect arcs. The sequence of types is clear then, and they must follow in the order named. The adoption of the circular reverse type raised a difficulty in die arrangement for in the preceding classes there was no doubt about the vertical axis of the reverse and the position was always ↑. When it came to fixing these, therefore, the strikers, under the influence of the old types, felt that one dolphin at least should be head up and yet they did not wish the inscription to read downwards so they seem to have compromised, not always successfully, by setting them both on a diagonal.

The coming of an entirely new type of prow might give a sure hint of date if we knew the details of Megarian history; add further that the issue was short-lived, for other specimens of the type are not recorded and two from Megara, (1) and (3), seem to have been struck from the same obverse die. If our tentative chronology is cor-

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rect so far, the occasion should come after the period of Antigonos' dominance following his conquest of the Gauls. About this time a new power enters the scene in Greece, that of Egypt who, playing a double game with Sparta and Pyrrhus, donned the much battered armor of the "champion of Greek freedom." Insofar as Antigonos was incommoded or not by these machinations he was snubbed or paid deference in Greece but in 266 matters reached a crisis; in that year the pro-Macedon government fell in Athens at the hands of the extreme nationalists, an Egyptian fleet was in the Saronic Gulf, the Spartan confederacy out for Antigonos' blood and the Chremonidean war was on. That Megara followed the lead of her near and greater neighbor Athens is indicated by Antigonos' capture of her in the same year although the war was not brought to an end until the battle of Corinth in 264. In one of these troublesome years this issue might belong, perhaps in 266 itself since it did not last long. To see in the new shape of prow a reference to the new factor in affairs, Egypt, or even an Egyptian ship, may be carrying refinement of association to the point of evanescence but the thesis is attractive and not, withall, too improbable for there must have been some potent reason for the change. This is the "barbarian" style of prow as its late and sporadic appearance in Greek lands proves; it must, therefore, have been that favored in the non-Hellenic

littoral along the southern shores of the Mediterranean. Adopted by the Romans in the second half of the fourth century, it gradually made its way to dominance in their wake. At both Corcyra and Leucas, for instance, its supersession of the Greek swan's-neck type seems to mark the occasions of Rome's entrance into the affairs of those regions.¹⁵ But in 229 Roman influence could not have been so appreciable at Megara as to inspire this passing compliment and 168 is too late for these coins. Egypt, therefore, remains as the most logical cause for this earlier and temporary appearance. Note that at nearby Aegina, this type of prow replaces the swan's neck just as at Megara and, it may be, for the same reason.¹⁶ Furthermore at Chalcis, on the one coin which bears a prow, it is of this type and on it the favor-

¹⁵ In 229 B.C. Rome suppressed piracy along the Illyrian coast and entered into treaty with the nearby states. For Corcyra it would be logical to make this date the occasion of the change in prow, both types of which are assigned by P. Gardner to his Periods VI and VII, 300-229 B.C.: *B. M. C. Thessaly*, pp. 126 ff.; cf. Pl. XXIII, Nos. 12 and 17. In 168 B.C. Perseus was defeated by the Romans and Leucas, detached from Acarnania, was probably given autonomy like Corcyra and Apollonia (*ibid.*, p. liv); the coins which, for various other reasons, Gardner places after 168 all have the Roman prow whereas the earlier ones show the Greek swan's-neck type.

¹⁶ *B. M. C. Attica*, p. 144, Nos. 228-232; Pl. XXVI, No. 2; the dotted circle on the obverse would make these follow rather than precede Nos. 233-235 on which the swan's-neck prow appears.

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ite eagle of the town stands upright, thus resembling greatly the Ptolemaic bird.¹⁷

VII. Prow l.; on deck MEΓ between two dolphins swimming in circle; border of dots.
 behind fo'c'sle, tripod. Below, dolphin l.

- A. (1). →; 16.5 mm.; 1.87 gm.; not cleaned. Dolphins swimming l. Pl. I, 12.
 (2). ↗; 15.0 mm.; 2.02 gm.; not cleaned.
 (3)–(6). ↖, ↗, →; aver. 14.7 mm.; 1.97 gm.; cleaned.
 (*B.M.C. Attica*, Nos. 26 and 27.)
- B. (1). ↑; 14.2 mm.; 2.18 gm.; cleaned. Dolphins swimming r. Pl. I, 13.
 (2). ↖; 14.6 mm.; 2.55 gm.; cleaned.
 (3). ↗; broken.
 (4). ↑; 15.0 mm.; W. A. C.

As noted above, the intermediate character of the reverse places this between the preceding series which shows the first attempt to arrange the dolphins in a circle and the following wherein they are so arranged successfully. The tails have been straightened out to follow the line of the body but the head is still bent too far down to fill the circle to best advantage. Further confirmation of the relative position of this series is afforded by the course of the dolphins, most of them swimming around right to left as in VI but in three cases

¹⁷ *B. M. C. Central Greece*, p. 116, No. 105; Pl. XXI, No. 7.

left to right as in VIII and IX. The dots are spaced unusually far apart. In this and the subsequent issues the flans are no longer as carefully prepared and struck and they contrast greatly with the neater workmanship of I-IV; the careless touches first visible in some specimens of V are predominant. The flans are thinner. A characteristic of this issue is that the metal was pushed up in a thick roll around one side of the reverse either because of a heavy blow in striking or because of softness in the metal. Die-positions, too, are subject to much greater variation and show little care in adjustment.

Here once again is the prow with the swan's-neck stolos which occurred before in IV and becomes constant henceforth. But in this series it displays a peculiarity not observable elsewhere; the cat-head, barely if ever visible on the other prows, is unduly prominent. Resting on the line of the upper rams, it protrudes markedly from the gun'ls like a square box and rises for half its height above them; the effect produced is more realistic but less graceful than on others where the treatment is that of drawing rather than relief sculpture.

VIII. Prow l.; on fo'c'-sle, tripod.

MEΓA between two dolphins swimming r. in circle; border of dots. Pl. I, 14.

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- (1). ⚭; 14.8 mm.; 2.12 gm.; not cleaned.
- (2). ⚭; 14.9 mm.; 2.75 gm.; not cleaned.
- (3)–(8). ⚭⚭⚭, ⚭, ♀; aver. 14.7 mm.; 2.02 gm.;
cleaned.
- (*B.M.C. Attica*, Nos. 28 and 29.)

The fabric shows an improvement over that of VII; the flans are more regular and not struck so hard. In these respects it is, too, noticeably superior to that of IX.

IX. Prow 1., tripod. ΜΕΓ between two dolphins swimming r. in circle; border of dots.

A. tripod on fo'c'sle. Pl. I, 15.

- 1. (1). ♀; 15.0 mm.; 1.88 gm.; not cleaned.
- (2). →; 14.4 mm.; 2.0 gm.; not cleaned.
- (3). ♀; 15.5 mm.; 2.08 gm.; not cleaned.
- (4). ⚭; 16.5 mm.; 2.11 gm.; not cleaned.
- (5)–(23). Dies loose; aver. 15.0 mm.; aver. of
 (5)–(14), 2.13 gm.; cleaned.
- 2. ΜΕΓ; Pl. I, 16.
- (1). ⚭; 16.0 mm.; 2.25 gm.; not cleaned.
- (2). ♀; 14.7 mm.; broken.

B. above prow, trident 1.

- 1. tripod on fo'c'sle ΜΕΓ; Pl. I, 17.
- (1). ♀; 15.5 mm.; 2.68 gm.; not cleaned.
- (2). ♀; 15.0 mm.; 2.40 gm.; cleaned.
- (3). ♀; 15.6 mm.; 2.29 gm.; cleaned.
- 2. tripod behind fo'c'sle ΜΕΓ or ΜΕΓ; Pl. I, 18,
 19.

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- (1). ↗; 15.3 mm.; 1.59 gm.; cleaned (on fo'c'-sle X?).
- (2). ↗; 15.2 mm.; 2.50 gm.; cleaned.
- (3). →; 14.1 mm.; 2.57 gm.; cleaned.
- (4). ↓; 14.3 mm.; broken.
- (5). → or ←; 15.0 mm.; W. A. C.

C. tripod behind fo'c'sle ΜΕΓ or ΛΕΓ; Pl. I, 20, 21.

1. (1). ↗; 13.8 mm.; 2.42 gm.; not cleaned.
(2)–(10). Dies loose; aver. 14.9 mm.; aver. of (2)–(9), 2.08 gm.; cleaned.
2. on side of fo'c'sle X. Pl. I, 22.
(1). ↘; 15.2 mm.; 2.66 gm.; not cleaned.
(2). ↘; 14.9 mm.; 1.88 gm.; cleaned.
(*B.M.C. Attica*, Nos. 21–25.)¹⁸



IX. A or B. 6 specimens; two not cleaned aver. 2.23 gm.; four cleaned aver. 2.20 gm.

VII–IX. 47 specimens cleaned; aver. of twenty best preserved, 2.22 gm.

VII–IX, deW., 22 specimens; W. A. C., 3 specimens.

Among these last three series VII stands somewhat apart from the others by reason of its pe-

¹⁸ "In the accompanying cut (above) are reproduced two similar bronze coins in my collection, bearing prows which vary in shape from any in the Megara find." E. T. Newell.

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culiarities. The die-cutting, coarser than usual, and the heavy striking of the flans seem to be evidences of haste in preparation and minting. In spite of this element of inferiority, the reverse type shows it to be the first of the three. The coins of VIII, judged solely from the few on hand, are of more careful workmanship but while the heavy striking characteristic of VII occurs on only one or two they vary in size to some degree. This is very noticeable in IX where the contrast between the largest and the smallest might lead one to postulate two denominations were there not others of all sizes in between.

We have brought the chronology down to the end of the Chremonidean war in 264. Concerning the vicissitudes of Megarian history from then until 243 nothing is known. It is usually assumed that the city formed an actual part of Antigonos' kingdom throughout the period. Whether the defection of Corinth between 253 and 247—the low point in Antigonos' reign during that time—affected the status of Megara in any way is uncertain and there is no evidence for it. If such was the case, however, series VII might have been struck then. More likely, perhaps, it is to be considered the first of the groups issued after Megara became a member of the Achaean League. Except for a lapse in the years 223–192 when she joined the Bocotians temporarily, Megara remained in the League until its dissolution. It is to that pe-

riod that VIII and IX, and perhaps VII, are to be assigned. The number of varieties indicates that the issues continued for some years and there is no other period offering a sufficiently long uninterrupted stretch. The irregular fabric of these coins corresponds well with that of the Sicyonian coins from the well of whose place in the period there is no doubt. The certain evidence of non-League coinage from Sicyon, Argos, Patrae, Megalopolis and elsewhere sufficiently betrays Polybius' hyperbole when speaking of the unity existing among League cities. There is, indeed, no cogent reason why Megara should not have coined her own bronze after admission to the League; the latter's bronze coinage was never more than a friendly gesture as its rarity attests and the city would have need of more than the few pieces coined with Achaean types. The thirty-one years' lapse into the company of the Boeotians seems to have left no trace in the coinage and it is pure speculation to suggest that VII might be placed in the twenty years before and VIII and IX in the forty-five years after that aberrance although the numbers and varieties of IX as mentioned indicate an issue of long duration.

SICYON

In numbers the 357 coins of Sicyon surpass by a good margin the Megarian but they are by so much the less amenable to systematization. The presence of monograms and magistrates' names indicates that as a group (leaving type I out of consideration) they cover a shorter range of time, belonging to the period of the Achaean League and so finding contemporaries only in the last issues of Megara. At Sicyon, bronze issues are paralleled by silver and of course it is the latter which must fix the chronology for the former. As an experiment, however, an attempt was made to arrange the coins on the basis purely of their evidence; it was far from successful. There is, in the first place, no uniformity of size or weight within any one type to make possible the establishment of a sequence of types on that basis for with a few exceptions all the coins show the same wide variation in these two respects. Then even a recourse to the types themselves provides no aid; certainly criteria of relative date should be found in the drawing of the dove, the form of the sigma and the position of the wreath but, let the coins be arranged by one of these factors, the other two will be found not to correspond in all cases and puz-

zling, apparently unresolvable, exceptions arise. But there must be some significance hidden in these variations for, granted none, there follows an incomprehensible eclecticism on the part of the die cutters. In the light of these considerations, then, no order based upon chronology has been attempted and the coins have been listed under I, II, etc., on a purely typological standard according to their several obverse types; under each head the first subdivisions, A and B, indicate the position of the wreath and the second, 1 and 2, the form of the sigma—the latter thus subordinated because of the difficulty of classifying intermediate forms as either Σ or Σ . The dies of all types are loose.

The numbers in parentheses refer to the coins of Sicyon described in *B. M. C. Peloponnesus*, pp. 47–55.

I. Boy standing r., holds Σ I in wreath.
in raised hands fillet; to
r. dove flying.

(1). 15.5 mm.; 3.73 gm.; cleaned (Nos. 135–137).

II. Head of Apollo r., Dove flying l., inscr.
laur. illeg. Pl. II, 1. (Probably AINEA Σ .)

(1). 17.6 mm.; 2.97 gm.; not cleaned (Nos. 234–240).

III. Dove feeding r. Tripod in olive-wreath.
A. above dove inscr.; wreath downwards.

(1). 15.1 mm.; broken; AP (cf. Nos. 225 and

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226). A similar coin is in the Newell Collection. Pl. II, 2.

(2). 12.7 mm.; 1.92 gm.; cleaned; Σ I (cf. Nos. 178 ff.). Pl. II, 3.

B. above dove Σ I; wreath upwards. (Nos. 178 ff.) Pl. II, 4.

(1). 15.3 mm.; 2.0 gm.; not cleaned.

(2)–(6). aver. of (2)–(4), 16.3 mm.; 2.74 gm.; cleaned.

C. above dove inscr.(?) ; wreath l.

(1). 13.0 mm.; 2.13 gm.; cleaned.

IV. Dove feeding l.; Tripod in olive-wreath.
inscr.? Pl. II, 5.

A. wreath downwards.

(1). 12.8 mm.; 1.78 gm.; not cleaned.

V. Dove flying r. Inscr. in olive-wreath.

A. wreath l.

1. Σ I.

(1). 16.8 mm.; 1.96 gm.; cleaned. Pl. II, 6.

2. Σ I; fillet in beak of dove.

(1). 14.1 mm.; 2.06 gm.; cleaned. Pl. II, 7.

B. wreath upwards; Σ I (Nos. 138–142). Pl. II, 8.

(1)–(8). aver. of (1)–(4), 13.8 mm.; 1.93 gm.; cleaned.

VI. Dove flying l.; behind wing, letters or monogram. Inscr. in olive-wreath.

A. wreath downwards.

1. Sigma not quite Σ , ΣI .

a. behind wing K (cf. silver coins with this monogram, Nos. 201 and 202). Pl. II, 9.

(1). 15.1 mm.; 3.09 gm.; not cleaned.

(2)–(8). aver. 14.6 mm.; 2.98 gm.; cleaned.

(9). 14.0 mm.; cleaned; deW.

(10). 14.5 mm.; cleaned; W. A. C.

2. ΣI .

a. behind wing E (No. 207). Pl. II, 10.

(1). 15.5 mm.; 1.79 gm.; cleaned.

b. behind wing \overline{AP} (Var. No. 206). Pl. II, 13.

(1). 15.2 mm.; 1.73 gm.; cleaned.

c. behind wing \overline{AK} (No. 205).

(1). 15.0 mm.; cleaned; deW.

d. behind wing A.

(1). 14.0 mm.; cleaned; deW.

e. beneath tail A .

(1). 14.0 mm.; 1.46 gm.; cleaned.

f. behind wing letter, illegible.

(1). 16.2 mm.; 2.27 gm.; cleaned. Pl. II, 12.

(2). 14.2 mm.; 2.55 gm.; cleaned. Pl. II, 11.

(3) and (4). 12.5 and 12.0 mm.; cleaned; deW.

B. wreath upwards.

1. Sigma between Σ and Σ , ΣI .

a. behind wing K (cf. silver coins with this monogram, Nos. 201 and 202). Pl. II, 14, 15.

(1). 14.9 mm.; 2.55 gm.; not cleaned.

(2) and (3). aver. 14.9 mm.; 2.09 gm.; cleaned.

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2. ΣΙ.

a. behind wing Σ.

(1). 13.0 mm.; cleaned; deW.

b. behind wing ΙΕ.

(1). 15.5 mm.; cleaned; deW.

c. behind wing Μ.

(1). 14.5 mm.; 2.26 gm.; cleaned.

d. behind wing ΑΒ.

(1). 13.5 mm.; 2.86 gm.; cleaned.

(2). 14.0 mm.; 2.50 gm.; cleaned.

e. behind wing ΙΠ, beneath tail ΑΔ.

(1). 12.5 mm.; 1.21 gm.; cleaned.

f. behind wing illegible.

(1). 12.5 mm.; edges broken off; cleaned.

VII. Dove flying l.; Inscr. in olive-wreath.
magistrate's name above.

A. wreath downwards.

1. ΞΙ.

a. ΞΕΝΟ ΚΡΙ (cf. Nos. 239 and 240). Pl. II, 16, 17.

(1)–(6). aver. 14.2 mm.; 2.72 gm.; cleaned.

b. ΞΕΝΟΤΙ ΜΟΣ (No. 218). Pl. II, 18, 19.

(1). 16.3 mm.; 2.59 gm.; cleaned.

(2). 15.4 mm.; 2.94 gm.; cleaned.

(3). broken.

(4). 15.3 mm.; cleaned; deW.

(5). 15.2 mm.; cleaned; W. A. C.

(6). 15.8 mm.; cleaned; W. A. C.

a. or b.

(1). 13.7 mm.; 1.84 gm.; cleaned.

(2). 14.6 mm.; 2.98 gm.; cleaned.

(3)–(4). 16.0 and 15.0 mm.; cleaned; deW.

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c. ΘΕ[. Pl. III, 1.

(1). 15.7 mm.; 2.78 gm.; cleaned.

2. ΣΙ.

a. ΑΛΕ[] ΔΡΟ[. Pl. III, 3.

(1). 15.8 mm.; 2.65 gm.; not cleaned.

(2). 14.3 mm.; 2.44 gm.; cleaned.

b. ΑΝΔΡΟΤΙ ΜΟΣ (No. 216). Pl. III, 4.

(1)–(8). aver. 15.4 mm.; 2.70 gm.;
cleaned.

(9). 15.0 mm.; W. A. C.

c. ΟΛΥΜΠΙ ΑΔΑ (Nos. 219 and 220). Pl.
III, 5.

(1)–(5). aver. 15.3 mm.; 2.55 gm.; cleaned.

(6). 16.0 mm.; cleaned; W. A. C.

(7). 16.5 mm.; cleaned; W. A. C.

d. ΑΙΝ[(cf. Nos. 234 and 235). Pl. III, 6.

(1). 17.0 mm.; 2.29 gm.; cleaned.

e. ΘΕΑ[. Pl. III, 2.

(1) and (2). 15.7 mm. and 16.2 mm.;
cleaned; deW.

B. wreath upwards.

1. ΣΙ.

a. ΠΡΟΜ[(Nos. 223 and 224). Pl. III, 7, 8.

(1)–(3). aver. 15.9 mm.; 2.39 gm.; cleaned.

(4). 14.1 mm.; 2.57 gm.; cleaned; inscr.
illegible but same style as others.

(5) and (6). 15.5 and 15.0 mm.; cleaned;
deW.

2. ΣΙ.

a.] ΜΟ[. Pl. III, 9.

(1). 14.0 mm.; 3.36 gm.; cleaned.

b. ΑΛΕΞΙ ΩΝ (No. 215). Pl. III, 10.

(1)–(7). 15.2 mm.; 2.94 gm.; not cleaned..

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(8)–(38). aver. of (8)–(25) 15.3 mm.;
2.89 gm.; cleaned.

(39)–(44). aver. 15.5 mm.; cleaned; deW.

A large number do not permit of exact identification; they are all cleaned:

VI or VII, A1. 49 specimens; the average weight of the 30 best preserved is 2.86 gm.; W. A. C., 4 specimens.

VI or VII, A2. 19 specimens; the average weight of 10 is 2.64 gm.; W. A. C., 3 specimens.

VI or VII, B. 36 specimens; the average weight of 30 is 2.73 gm.; W. A. C., one specimen.

VI or VII. 74 specimens; the average weight of 40 is 2.62 gm.; deW., 22 specimens; W. A. C., 5 specimens.

Several varieties not noted in the *B. M. C.* will be seen to occur whereas very many described there do not appear. Almost all the coins from the well are among those dated after 370 (*B. M. C.*, pp. 49 ff.). The magistrates are fairly well represented; among those already known, the names of two, ΞΕΝΟΚΡΙ[ΤΟΣ and ΑΙΝ[ΕΑΣ are found with a type different from that listed for them in *B. M. C.* Not recorded among the magistrates there are ΑΛΕ[ΞΑΝ]ΔΡΟ[Σ, ΘΕ[and ΘΕΑ[although ΘΕΥΦ occurs on Nos. 157 and 158 and ΘΕ on Nos. 232 and 233. The name of which we have only the letters]ΜΟ[on one coin may have been ΑΝΔΡΟΤΙΜΟΣ but probably was not because—and this is a fact to be

BRONZE COINS FROM MEGARA 37

noted—the position of the wreath is the same on all the coins bearing the name of one magistrate.

Coins representing other mints are the following:

Rome

1. Head of Athena r. Forepart of prow r.
wearing crested helmet.

Above: . . .

20.8 mm.

Dyrrhachium

2. Head of Zeus r. ΔΥΡ Τripod; all in oak
wreath. Pl. III, 11.

] ΩΝΟΣ.

(*B.M.C. Thessaly*, p. 76, No. 165.)

3. as above. as above.
ΧΑΙΡΙΑ ΛΟΥ.

(*B.M.C. Thessaly*, p. 76, No. 169; deW.)

Phocis

4. Head of Pallas fac- Φ in olive wreath.
ing.

(*B.M.C. Central Greece*, p. 20, Nos. 66 ff.)

Boeotia

5. Head of Demeter ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ Poseidon
three-quarter face r. standing l. Pl. III, 12.

(*B.M.C. Central Greece*, p. 41, Nos. 81 ff.)

Athens

- 6-7. Head of Athena r., ΑΘΕ Two owls on
helmeted. thunderbolt; all in olive
wreath. Pl. III, 13.

(*B.M.C. Attica*, p. 79, No. 537; a like one, deW.)

38 BRONZE COINS FROM MEGARA

8. Head of Athena r., A E Zeus r. hurling thun-
helmeted. Θ der bolt; at r., star
between two cres-
cents. Pl. III, 16.

(*B.M.C. Attica*, p. 81, No. 552.)

9-10. as above. A Θ as above; at l., ear
E of corn. Pl. III, 15.

(*B.M.C. Attica*, p. 81, No. 556; two specimens.)

11. Head of Apollo? r. A ΘE Two ears of
corn. Pl. III, 14.

(*B.M.C. Attica*, p. 92, No. 664.)

Eleusis or Athens

12. Demeter or Trip- Pig r.
tolemus in winged car
drawn by serpents l.

(*B.M.C. Attica*, p. 23, No. 249 or p. 112, No. 12.)

Aegina

13. A between two dol- Incuse square. Pl. III,
phins. 17.

(*B.M.C. Attica*, p. 142, No. 205.)

Corinth

14. Pegasus flying l. Trident upright. Pl.
III, 18.

(*B.M.C. Corinth*, p. 55; much worn.)

Argos

15. Head of Apollo r. EY ΘY Tripod; in field
M E Θ and club. Pl.
III, 19.

(*B.M.C. Peloponnesus*, p. 146, No. 131.)

BRONZE COINS FROM MEGARA 39

16. as above. Λ Υ as above; in field ear
K O of corn and ☐. Pl.
III, 20.

(*B.M.C. Peloponnesus*, p. 146, No. 134.)

17. Forepart(*sic!*) of Quiver. The accom-
wolf to r. panying symbols are il-
legible.

(Variety, *B.M.C. Peloponnesus*, p. 147, Nos. 138-139.)

Zacynthus (?)

18. Female head r., hair Tripod (?) in wreath.
rolled. Very worn. Only por-
tions of the wreath re-
main visible.

(*B.M.C. Peloponnesus*, p. 100, Nos. 61-64.)

Gortyna (?)

19. Head of Apollo r. Bull butting r.
(*B.M.C. Crete*, p. 46, Nos. 69-74.)

Cyzicus

20. Head and neck of K Υ above $\overline{\text{H}\Delta}$ in wreath.
bull to r.

(*B.M.C. Mysia*, p. 39, Nos. 154-158.)

Thirty-two coins (six deW. and one W.A.C.) are too obliterated to be identified at all.

Considering the coins together as a group, we find that the extent of time represented is several centuries. Certainly latest is the Athenian piece on the reverse of which appears the symbol of a star between two crescents. It seems impossible

40 BRONZE COINS FROM MEGARA

to do otherwise than connect the bronze issue bearing this symbol with the silver issue whereon it also appears and which can be dated exactly to 88 B.C.¹⁹ If, however, the first quarter of the first century is the lowest date it is strange not to find, amongst all the other Megarian issues, some specimens of that dated by Head about 146 B.C. or later (*B. M. C. Attica*, pp. 121 and 122, Nos. 43–45) and even more so, of the earlier ones (Nos. 40–42); this can be construed only as a bit of evidence for placing later in the first century these unrepresented coins. In the other direction the limit is set at the end of the fourth century to which the earliest Megarian coins belong. But note that, whereas her neighbor Sicyon is present in a plurality of cases, Corinth has only one, and that a much worn, Pegasus to offer. The date of the Corinth small bronze is usually given as the fourth or the fourth and third centuries but while there is no information available as to the frequency of their occurrence elsewhere, the Pegasi are so common at Corinth itself as to suggest that they were issued down to the destruction of the city in 146 B.C.²⁰ The presence of only one in the well is extraordinary and baffles explanation. The Sicyonian coins are notoriously abundant but it hardly seems that force of numbers alone can

¹⁹ *B. M. C. Attica*, p. liii, Series xcv; Bellinger *N. N. and M.*, 42, *Two Hoards of Attic Bronze Coins*, p. 7.

²⁰ K. M. Edwards, *Corinth VI, Coins 1896–1929*, p. 2.

account for their predominance in the well when nearer cities are so poorly represented. Some particularly close intercourse must have bound the two towns together.

It is not uncommon to find ancient wells filled up with debris of various sorts among which there may be a few coins but the presence of almost seven hundred in a couple of metres of earth at the bottom of an open shaft cannot be due to washing in or artificial filling. Their even distribution in the earth proves that they cannot have once formed a hoard the container of which subsequently broke or rotted away nor is a well over ten metres deep a likely place of concealment for such a cache. The circumstances point to their having been deposited gradually and that through human and not natural agency. Two other facts help to strengthen this view; the poor condition of most of the coins, which have been seen to cover a fair range of time, is the result of corrosion and not of wearing and almost all the coins are of small size, representing therefore no great value. Sacred springs are known to have existed into which small objects were tossed as good-luck offerings to the patron nymph; this well seems to have enjoyed some such position among the ancients and into it passers-by, or more likely travellers, would toss a penny for their good luck. In the bowl from it we may have an offering of a different kind since it can hardly have been

42 BRONZE COINS FROM MEGARA

dropped in by chance. The number of coins found the second year, and so below the others, is too small to allow one to judge whether they are earlier as a group; cleanings of the well in antiquity and in later times have probably removed the deposits of the years before and after those represented by these coins.

The doubts and uncertainties which characterize the various relationships of the coins detract much from their importance but the pieces themselves are not without interest. In view of the deep gloom of ignorance which covers the whole field of Hellenistic archaeology, and not only the numismatic sector, it is imperative that each bit of evidence be made public for so alone can light ultimately be spread there.

P L A T E S

MEGARA WELL DEPOSIT



1.



2.



3.



4.



9.



10.



11.



15.



16.



17.



18.



PLATE I



5.



6.



7.



8.



12.



13.



14.



19.



20.



21.



22.



MEGARA WELL DEPOSIT



1.



2.



3.



4.



9.



10.



11.



15.



16.



17.



18.



PLATE I



5.



6.



7.



8.



12.



13.



14.



19.



20.



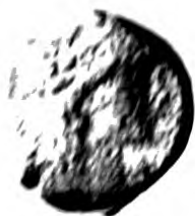
21.



22.



MEGARA WELL DEPOSIT



1.



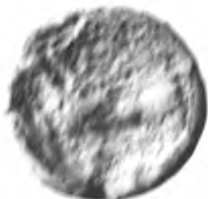
2.



3.



4.



9.



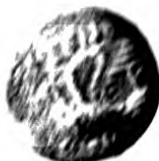
10.



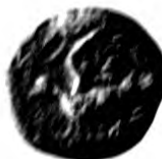
11.



15.



16.



17.



18.



PLATE II



5.



6.



7.



8.



12.



13.



14.



19.



20.



21.



22.



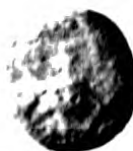
MEGARA WELL DEPOSIT



1.



2.



3.



4.



9.



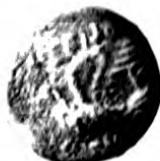
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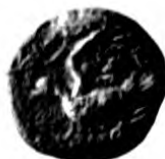
11.



15.



16.



17.



18.

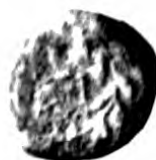


PLATE II



5.



6.



7.



8.



12.



13.



14.



19.



20.



21.



22.



MEGARA WELL DEPOSIT



1.



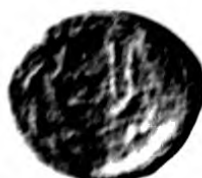
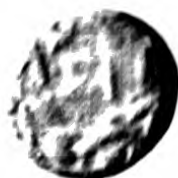
2.



3.



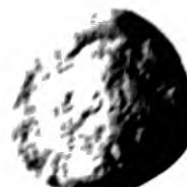
4.



9.



10.



11.



15.



16.



17.



18.



PLATE III



5.



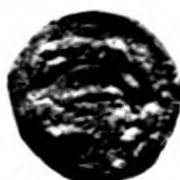
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8.



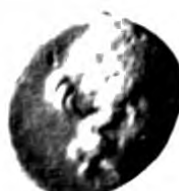
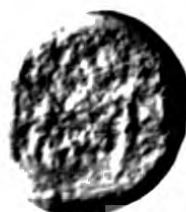
12.



13.



14.



19.



20.



21.



22.



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NUMISMATIC NOTES
AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 71



THE THURIAN DI-STATERS

BY
SYDNEY P. NOE

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
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THE THURIAN DI-STATERS

BY SYDNEY P. NOE

It seems strange that no comprehensive effort to arrange the di-staters of Thurium has ever been published.¹ Perhaps the vast number of the varieties of the didrachms is a deterrent sufficient to explain why they have not been given the attention they deserve, but this condition does not apply to the larger denomination. The old and mistaken idea that pieces from identical dies are seldom found may have militated against a serious study of these pieces but the lack of a record of any considerable hoard within recent times is a more significant explanation. The present examination was begun with a view to finding where these tetradrachms of Thurium parallel the single issue of di-staters at Metapontum. These Metapontine double-units are commonly accepted as having been struck during the period of not more than four years during which Alexander of Epirus played a leading role in the history of south Italy. The establishment of a

¹ Cf. however C. Jörgensen in *Corolla Numismatica*, pp. 166–177, pl. VIII–IX, (1905).

Hill, G. F. Greek Coins Acquired by the British Museum in 1927. *Num. Chron.* 1928, p. 1–3.

Robinson, E. S. G. Coins of Thurium from the Collection of Marchese Ginori. *Num. Chron.* 1927, p. 297.

Lloyd, A. H. Some Rare or Unpublished Coins of Magna Graecia in my Collection. *Num. Chron.* 1924, p. 135–136.

Mueller, T. *De Thuriorum Republica*. Gottingae. 1838.

Schiller, L. *De Rebus Thuriorum*. Gottingae. 1838.

2 THE THURIAN DI-STATERS

synchronism between the two series should permit working both forward and backward from that point and be of value in showing the evolution of each city's coinage.

Another deterrent which might have acted to prevent an earlier study of these Thurian coins is the slightness of the change in the type and the frequent absence of distinguishing symbols. There is stylistic evidence that the issue of these di-staters was not continuous and it was therefore problematical whether there would be any help from die-mulings. Any attempt to solve the problem depended upon having the majority of the pieces known, together with their weights. The measure with which this condition has been met is due to coöperation which I am glad to acknowledge on the part of the more important national collections of Europe and of those private collectors whose names are cited in the lists which follow, all of whom have been very prompt in responding to my request for casts. To all who have aided, I render cordial thanks.

In his earlier study of the weights of the Greek colonies of southern Italy, the late Dr. Regling brought together data concerning 138 Thurian di-staters.² He observed an upward trend in weight toward the end of the series and just before the reduction in the standard. Dr. Regling's observations were founded on a representative group of these di-staters—or those for which the weights were

² *Klio*, v. 6, 1906, p. 517.

easily obtainable, including those in the Berlin cabinet at that time and such others as had been listed in previously published catalogues. No claim to conclusiveness was made. The number cited by Dr. Regling is herein increased to 322, although the weights of certain pieces (12 in number) are lacking.³ This number however, with the added notation that it comprises some 111 varieties (each die combination being considered a variety), is the first and a rather startling point to be considered. That there are so many varieties (42) with a single specimen known and twenty-three of which two specimens only have been discovered by careful searching, presents further food for thought, especially when the probability that there are varieties which have not survived is remembered. Other phenomena which have appeared were scarcely to have been anticipated.

A word regarding the convention used for numbering and that employed to indicate identity of dies will be necessary. The capital letters A to N (with the exception of I) indicate the groups into which the di-staters are divided. Thus in Group A there is a single variety—in Group D, nine (with D20, possibly ten). Each die combination is given a separate number and these numbers in every case are even numbers. By this means new varieties and new die combinations can later be interpolated and

³ This total does not include plated pieces, ten in number, and excludes one or two suspicious varieties. It does include, however, three or four coins which are of correct weight and good style, but which *may* be plated (e. g., M 2).

4 THE THURIAN DI-STATERS

given intermediate numbers without necessitating an entire renumeration. The chronological placement of an addition will be indicated by the group letter. The condition that an odd number is used will be an indication that it is new to the present arrangement.

An examination of the plates will show straight lines between certain of the coins illustrated. These are intended to show visually that the dies so connected are identical. On Plate I the demonstration is simple because there are few dies to each group and even with numbers C2a and C2b where two specimens sharing *both* dies are shown, the intention is plain. In Group F, however, where there are twenty-two distinct varieties and here, where the mulings are fairly complicated, the convention is not so satisfactory. To indicate identity of dies that are widely separated, the numbers of the connecting dies are given below in italics at the end of a short line rather than by a line which might have to cross from one end of the plate to the other.⁴ This is the only group in which confusion need be anticipated, but the descriptions will satisfy doubts should any arise.

In the coin descriptions the objective has been clarity and brevity. Essential differences are cited—frequently more than a single one and preferably one not likely to be off-flan or ambiguous. Occasionally as in Group G this is exceedingly difficult, especially

⁴ When three mulings occur, indication of the connection with one of the other two varieties is considered sufficient.

with the reverses, where the inscriptions provide the easiest means of testing differences. The known specimens are listed under each variety with the usual indication for the Berlin *Münzkabinett* as Berlin etc., and with easily traceable references to the auction catalogues, such as Naville V or Strozzi, which scarcely require elucidation.

Of three hundred and seven specimens for which the weights have been obtained five have unusually low weights (B2n, H22, K12b, K12c, L4c.). The possibility of error in recording these weights is sufficient to warrant eliminating them from a frequency table. We have recorded 302 coins and from these the table was prepared. The greatest number of pieces falls between the weights 15.65 and 15.85. The norm according to this determination is therefore 15.75. The average weight of these 302 pieces is 15.374. The highest weights, that is those in the last two divisions, are predominantly of the later issues. For the weights between 15.95 and 16.04 seven out of ten fall after group G, to which I have assigned a date c.330. In the next group (16.05 to 16.14) all four specimens are of these later issues. This supports Dr. Regling's observation concerning an 'upward trend' in weight. It is hardly strong enough to warrant the suggestion of a change in the weight standard, however.

It should be added that the American Numismatic Society will be grateful for further additions to the specimens here cited—in all cases the weights are desired. Preferably, wherever possible a cast or

6 THE THURIAN DI-STATERS

sealing wax impression should be sent, unless the piece is one which has appeared in an auction catalogue or is illustrated photographically elsewhere, in which case a statement to that effect alone is needed. The present ownership of pieces herein listed according to the sales from which they have come, is also desirable. It would be helpful, whenever a specimen is known to have come from a hoard, to have that circumstance mentioned.

DATING THE GROUPS.

The founding of Thurium in 443 would give a fixed point for the city's coinage, if we could be sure that its coinage began immediately. Jörgensen in his excellent article⁵ on the earliest coinage of Thurium opposes Head's position⁶ that during the first twenty years of its existence its coinage was very scanty. Jörgensen terminates the issue having the helmet of Athena ornamented with an olive wreath in 425—that is, in the first eighteen years of the city's existence. All of this would be foreign to a study of the di-staters, since we have a single specimen bearing the olive wreath, if it did not bear upon the dating of the B group which follows, in which the Scylla adorning Athena's helmet replaces the wreath, and which, because the letter Φ is common to the obverses of both varieties of the didrachms can be shown to follow immediately after the introduction of the Scylla decoration.

⁵ *Corolla Numismatica* p. 166

⁶ *Historia Numorum*, first edition, p. 71.

The use of the olive in connection with Athena requires no comment. As much can hardly be said for the figure of Scylla. That it should have been introduced without a significance which would be apparent to the Greeks is foreign to all we know concerning their use of decorative symbols.⁷ That the use of this figure persisted so long after its introduction further strengthens the position that it had especial significance. It would not be unusual for such a striking change in the coin type to have taken place because of some important event in the history of the city. We must, therefore, glance back to the scanty records. Because they do not bear on our problem, we may here eliminate a discussion of the voluminous references to the foundation of the city and to the part played by Thurium in the founding of Heraclea.

Apparently Jörgensen's dating for the series having Athena's helmet adorned with the olive wreath is, as has been noted, a swing to the other extreme

⁷ For a discussion of the significance of the use of the figure of Scylla and of its employment as a helmet-decoration cf. a monograph by Otto Waser printed in 1894 and entitled *Skylia und Charybdis in der Literatur und Kunst der Griechen und Römer*. Most coin-occurrences, with the exception of Cyzicus, are on issues of Italy or Sicily. At Cumae and Agrigentum, Scylla provides a subsidiary type—at Syracuse and Agrigentum, it is relegated to the exergue. Among Thurium's neighbors, Heraclea and Tarentum, it is found on Athena's helmet. The author considers that most of the monsters appearing on Athena's helmet are destructive or terror-bringing. He does not improve on the admirable characterization given in Smith's 'Classical Dictionary' that Scylla is 'the personification of the danger to mariners of a rock-bound coast.'

from the position taken in the first edition of the *Historia Numorum*—modified in the second edition, possibly because of Jörgensen's arguments. Why 425 was chosen by Jörgensen as the date for the change to the Scylla type is not made clear—or rather, it is admitted to have been arbitrary.⁸ Except when applied over long periods of time, deductions based on the comparative number of dies used are of questionable value. This is because of the variable or unknown elements—the life of a die, possible intervals between striking, and the increased requirements in time of war. But when we find a large number of varieties in the wreathed helmet series during a period in which Thurium is generally at peace, we may question that all these issues could have been crowded into a space of eighteen years as Jörgensen proposes.

The change which took place when the Scylla replaced the wreath of Athena's helmet has one element of significance; it is a change *from* the type adopted when the influence of Athens was predominant. Furthermore, the Scylla type persisted after the defeat of the Athenians by Syracuse, and for many decades. A glimpse at the record of that mighty struggle as given so impressively by Thucydides provides data that seem to have escaped Jörgensen's notice, and this testimony is confirmed in some of its details by Diodorus⁹ and in Plutarch's biography of Alcibiades. We are told that Metapon-

⁸ Jörgensen, *loc. cit.* p. 175.

⁹ Bk xiii, ch. 1.

tum and Thurium contributed ships to the Athenian forces before Syracuse (Thucydides VII, lvii, 11). In the light of its foundation by colonists from Athens this is not more than we should expect for the latter place. There is, however, a very illuminating addition by Thucydides who says of Metapontum and Thurium that both these cities were "reduced at this time to such straits by party crises that they could not do otherwise." But we are not dependent upon a single statement of Thucydides as sometimes happens; other confirmatory passages follow. When Alcibiades was recalled it was at Thurium that he abandoned the Salaminia, in whose company his vessel was returning, and from Thurium he fled to Sparta. (Thucydides VI, lxi, 6, 7). In connection with the aid sent to Syracuse by Sparta under the leadership of Gylippos we read that he endeavored to induce several of the South Italian cities to change sides. His hope to have accomplished this at Thurium was the stronger because his father had once been one of its citizens, but he failed to win them over. This failure is the more easily understood because the Athenian forces at this stage had suffered none of the reverses which later caused their downfall (Thucydides, VI, civ, 2).

After the first reversals for the Athenians, in response to Nicias' appeal for further aid from Athens, reinforcements were sent under the leaders Demosthenes and Eurymedon. (Thucydides VII, xxxiii, 3-6). Concerning this force after it had reached Italy, we read, "At Thuria they found that

the faction opposed to the Athenians had recently been expelled in a revolution; and as they were desirous, after collecting their whole armament at that place, to hold a review of it, on the chance that anyone had been left behind, and also to persuade the Thurians both to take part with them in the expedition with all zeal and, in view of the Athenian's present good fortune, to regard the same persons foes and friends as the Athenians did, they waited at Thuria and dealt with these matters."¹⁰ Thucydides does not tell us whether the Thurians were persuaded to join the Athenian forces. If they did so, the triumph of the anti-Athenian faction after the Athenian defeat would have been much easier. That there was such a readjustment is indicated by the later statement (Thucydides VIII, xxxv, 1) that Hippocrates the Lacedaemonian sailed from the Peloponnesus with ten Thurian ships under the command of Doreius, son of Diagoras and two colleagues during the same winter (i. e. 412-411).

Does it not seem logical, therefore, to attribute the marked change in the type of the city's coinage to c. 413-410? In the Scylla we may see an apotropaic motif featuring a native myth and replacing the form adopted when the Athenians were in power.

To Mrs. A. Baldwin Brett I am indebted for pointing out that the signature of Phrygillos on the tetradrachms of Syracuse is dated by Tudeer¹¹ close

¹⁰ Loeb translation, vol. iv. p. 63.

¹¹ Tudeer, *Die Tetradrachmenprägung von Syrakus*, pp. 224 ff., Pl. II, 29.

to the time of the victory over the Athenians. The associated die by EYΘ depicts a *winged* charioteer, and singularly enough, shows a Scylla in the exergue. It would require a long digression to review the questions hinging upon the name of this artist in an attempt to determine whether Φ, ΦPY and Phrygillos are the same individual and whether the bird on the Thurian staters is a finch and a punning-reference to the name of Phrygillos. The published material is admirably summarized by Tudeer, and significant specimens of the varieties involved are illustrated by Dr. Regling.¹² Tudeer's conclusion is that ΦPY at Thurium is identical with Phrygillos at Syracuse. Since that is what most concerns us here, we may leave the other branches of this problem for later investigation of the rather complicated evidence.¹³ Tudeer also feels that the workmanship of Phrygillos on his signed die at Syracuse shows that he must have been a stranger to the procedure at this mint. This leads him to conclude that his activity at Thurium preceded that at Syracuse—a judgment the more valuable as support because of his Syracusan point of view.

If the activity of Phrygillos at Thurium is to be dated prior to 413 and if it terminated there shortly after that date, since the change to the type having Scylla on Athena's helmet occurs within the series having the bird—a group inseparably connected

¹² Regling, *Terina*, p. 71, notes 9 and 10.

¹³ There are at least thirty-four varieties of the Thurian staters with ΦPY or the 'finch'—additional dies having Φ alone may or may not prove to have connection.

12 THE THURIAN DI-STATERS

with the $\Phi\PY$ coins, we have further support for our dating of this change to the time of the Athenian reverse.

SIGNATURES.

The name of Histor occurs but once (B6) on these di-staters—in tiny letters along the exergual line. Its inconspicuousness is in keeping with the signature of Aristoxenos at Metapontum and Heraclea and with that of Philistion at Velia. Dr. A. H. Lloyd¹⁴ has published reasons for identifying the letters $\text{I}\Sigma$ on the obverse die of a stater as the initials of Histor. His conclusions are accepted and amplified by Mr. E. S. G. Robinson.¹⁵ On B6 on which the Histor signature occurs we have the monogram VE on the bull's rump to the left of his tail. On the didrachm, there is a large letter E in addition to $\text{I}\Sigma$ (in small letters), while on the reverse of a closely related stater (Pl. XI, 13) there is a tiny E on the rump of the bull. Since the monogram must be read EY , Robinson points out that the acceptance of Histor as the artist involves accepting E and EY as initials of a single individual who can hardly be other than a mint official or moneyer. He further submits that since the E above the peak of the helmet on the didrachm indicates a moneyer, the Φ on the di-stater B2 does not indicate the artist, but a moneyer, and that this die, because of similarities with B6 is also the work of Histor. This conclusion

¹⁴ Num. Chron. 1924, pp. 135–6.

¹⁵ Num. Chron. 1927, pp. 299–300.

is not logically inevitable, however, and it seems to fall down when subjected to the obvious test of comparing the obverses of B2 and B6. The style of *Histor* which is conspicuously noticeable in the didrachm with E is very different from that of the obverse die of B2, with its Φ . It is unnecessary to labor this point here, since the succession of Group B depends on the employment of the Φ in its position above the peak of the helmet and is independent of a determination whether that *phi* indicates Phrygillos or someone else whose name begins with that letter who was moneyer at the time. One possibility is that Phrygillos was artist first and moneyer as well later. In the troubled times following 413 strict consistency with regard to signatures is hardly to be looked for with such a personal procedure.

The didrachms offer very little help in the study of the di-staters. In fact, they rather provide support for the inconsistency of which we have been speaking. Although no pieces of the larger denomination have been found bearing the name of Molossos, the placing of his name on the staters offers analogies with the occurrence of *Histor*'s 'signature.' In 1906, Dr. Regling shared von Sallet's opinion¹⁶ that Molossos was a magistrate rather than an artist. Recently, however, in the entry under Molossos in Vol. XVI of the Pauly-Wissowa Real-encyclopädie, he accepts the interpretation proposed by Robinson¹⁷ that the inscription on a *pluted* coin of Thurium,

¹⁶ *Gr. Münzen der Saml. Warren*, p. 18, note.

¹⁷ *Num. Chron.* 1927, p. 302; Pl. XIII, 8.

reading 'ΜΟΛΟΣΣΟΣ ΕΠΙΟΕΙ' indicates Molossos is to be considered as the die-engraver. When two such scholars are in agreement, it seems hazardous to file a caveat. The chief objection is the workmanship on the dies which bear the name of Molossos. Of these I have found nineteen bearing the name of Molossos in full, and there are others having an initial M which may or may not indicate his name. But even with dies bearing his name, there is little uniformity. That on these nineteen issues we have good, bad and indifferent die-cutting within a demonstrably brief period seems support for deducing that Molossos was a magistrate rather than an 'artist.' Could one individual have done the same thing in so many different ways?

Further support for this is to be found in the unique stater in Berlin which bears the name of ΝΙΚΑΝΔΡΟΣ in the same position as the name of Molossos. (Pl. XI, 7). Above the exergual line is a grasshopper. On the obverse, the Scylla holds a rudder and the flap of the helmet is decorated with a scroll. The crest has none of the worried treatment which characterizes the issues of Group G of the di-staters, where Scylla also holds a rudder, and it would seem to have preceded them by at least two decades and possibly more. The position of the bull's head is close to that found on the staters of Molossos and with the later issues of Group F of the di-staters. The letters of the Nikandros inscription are smaller than the largest of those of Molossos, but larger than most of the other Molossos inscriptions.

If Molossos proves to be a magistrate or moneyer, Nikandros with his single die must follow.

An examination of the plates appended will provide evidence supporting that the issues of the Thurian di-staters cannot have been continuous. Within the groups into which these pieces have herein been divided, die-mulings are usual. Except for the first piece described, the varieties which do not have either their obverse or reverse dies participating in mulings is surprisingly small (23). There is room for some difference of opinion as to what comprises a group. The mere absence of connection, because for many die-combinations we have but a single specimen, should teach us to be wary, since such linkings may still come to light. When, however, there is a noticeable change of style separating two groups it is not unreasonable to deduce that there was an interval separating them.

The breaks between the groups, which have been mentioned, logically claim our first attention. Turning first to the groups F and G, there are two striking differences in the G group which have not occurred previously, (a) the Scylla on the obverse holds a rudder; (b) the reverse shows two fishes in the exergue instead of the single occupant found in the earlier issues. This distinction throws together into the first division most of the di-staters having a single fish in the exergue.¹⁸ In the second class the exergue is occupied by other objects as well as by

¹⁸ The exceptions are K14-18, L2 and N6.

two fishes, as will be seen. The earlier issues may be subjected to further division.

GROUP B (c. 412 B. C.)

Turning to Plates I and II, a distinction is at once apparent. The head of Athena is to the r. on the series shown on Plate I—to the left on Plate II. Further, except for the first coin and C2, all of the pieces on Plate I show a griffin facing to the right on the flap of the helmet; on Pl. II this griffin is no longer seen. The latest series of the staters with the wreathed helmet as well as the first of those with the Scylla bear the distinguishing letter *phi* in the field in front of the Scylla; and this is found in one of the obverse dies of the B group, thus placing them. The lowered head of the bull in the pieces in Group B is seen to be in profile; in Group C and in the pieces of the following Group shown on Plate II (except for D2) the bull's head is turned so as to be partly facing. The exception noted, D2, found in a single specimen in the Berlin cabinet, shares its obverse die with reverses showing the bull's head facing, and is therefore to be interpreted as the link connecting the groups occupying these two plates. It may seem that a separation of the Group B and C is unnecessary; changes in the head of the bull and in the exergual line are the chief differences.

A word regarding C2a might be interpolated at this point. This coin is known to me in a cast only, but M. Babelon tells me in a letter that there is not the slightest reason to doubt its genuineness. It

will be seen that it shares both obverse and reverse dies with C2b although there is no Scylla on the helmet of Athena. The most satisfactory explanation is that we have a coin struck from a die that was still unfinished—what might be called a trial-piece. If such is the case, this is the only specimen of a Greek coin from incomplete dies known to me. As an indication of the manner of die-cutting it should be very important. The figure of the griffin, like that of the Scylla, is made a separate problem and the locks of hair are modified in C2b to correlate the elements of the whole.

GROUP D

As has already been pointed out, this group shares with the succeeding one (E) the distinction of having all the obverse heads facing to the left; except for two further dies, F2 and F12–14, the heads on the Thurian di-staters all face to the right.¹⁹ There are nine, possibly ten varieties, but there are in all only three obverse dies. Each obverse die is combined with three reverses—with the last, there are possibly four combinations. That the initial die precedes D8 is to be seen from the reverse die of D6, which is an earlier stage of the same die found in D8—the die-crack which runs from the Y of the ethnic to the

¹⁹ There seems to be but a single issue of the staters having Athena's helmet decorated with a Scylla and with Athena's head facing to left until very late in the city's history. One of these pieces from Mr. Newell's collection is illustrated on Pl. XI, No. 6. I believe it is unpublished. It is apparently closest to F12 of the di-staters.

back of the bull is not present in D6. The reverses of D4 and D10 are also seen to be identical. The obverse die for Nos. D12-18 shares none of its reverses with any of the varieties which precede it on the plate, nor is its connection with E2 strikingly close. It seems very improbable that this reverse would precede that of D2, however, and the ordering submitted finds support in the slightly less effective treatment of the hair of Athena, which shows some of the simplification to be seen in the single obverse die of Group E.

D2 calls for comment because of the position of the bull, which is apparently a derivative of much earlier issues of the staters. For this reason, one would expect to find it much nearer to A2, but the combination of its obverse die with the other reverses on this plate leaves no room for its placement earlier. The use of the letter delta below the crest should be noted; the position of the left hand of the Scylla in all three obverse dies is also distinctive. Like its immediate predecessor, the obverse die for D8-12 is very beautiful. It is shown in three stages; the break which is not prominent in D10 has developed until a considerable segment of the surface is gone in D12. The relief is perhaps not quite so high as in the preceding groups, but the workmanship has rarely been surpassed.

D20 is a puzzling coin which it is difficult to judge from the reproduction. Although my suspicions may prove unwarranted, it seemed best to reproduce it here in the text, partly because I could not obtain

a cast of it. The head of Athena shows signs of tooling and the inscription is very different from that of other dies muled with this obverse. The weight does not indicate plating but this is also a possibility.



The group labelled E is so small that there is room for thinking that a connection with the preceding group may yet come to light. There is a fairly obvious falling off in style as well as such notable differences as the turning of the bull to the l. on the reverses of E4 and E6 and the placing of the tuft of the bull's tail above his back rather than across the flank, which is characteristic of certain dies in the D group—cf. D6, D8 and D18. D12 which seems to provide an exception to this suggestion is struck from a badly broken die which would hardly have been used except in an emergency—that is, a die which would have been rejected in normal times. The reverse, too, may be an old die which had been laid aside before it had worn out. E4 and E6, in harking back to the placing of the bull's tail across the flank, indicate a closer connection with group D than with group F and give ground for considering

E2 as following rather than preceding these two combinations of dies.

GROUP F

The seven pieces placed at the beginning of this division were at first considered a separate group, but double mulings with later issues showed that the group, though large, was a single one. The die-mulings claim priority of attention. In two instances we have a reverse die connected with three obverses (a. F2, F8 and F18; b. F34, F40, F44). There are five instances where two reverse dies are combined with the same obverse; one in which there are four reverses with the same obverse die and another case in which no less than six different reverse dies are found with the same obverse. There is a possibility, one might say probability, that further combinations will be found. With some of these combinations, all of the specimens located are in poor condition and consequently there is room for a difference of opinion as to which is the earlier state of the die. It follows that further specimens may reverse or change the order here submitted.

Throughout the group the Scylla on the helmet is shown with hand upraised to her brow in a scanning or peering attitude. Three of the nine obverse dies have letters between the neckpiece of the helmet and the crest (Δ I diagonally downward or retrograde). F2 and F12-14 are the only varieties with Athena's head to the left; on F2 the annulet between the neckpiece and the crest may be intended for a

theta. The varieties F4–F10 show an obverse die which is seldom in good condition. This die bears a symbol for which I can find no previous publication. On the bowl of the helmet, between the shoulder of Scylla and the base of the crest, a tiny skyphos or kotyle is to be seen on fine specimens. Possibly this is an instance of a use of the punning principle to which Dr. Macdonald²⁰ has called attention and is to be recognized as a *type parlant* for an artist's signature. Alternative suggestions are not abundant.

The distinguishing of the reverse varieties is very difficult because the differences are slight. If the present arrangement proves stable, it would seem that the bull's head three-quarters facing was changed to a profile position. The exergue is uniformly occupied by a single fish; the exergual line is sometimes continuous, sometimes dotted and sometimes double—that is having a continuous as well as a dotted line. In the die F10–12 there are small pellets above the exergual line. Their significance is not clear. The treatment of the ethnic is varied but slightly—the relative spacing of the letters frequently provides the chief means of distinguishing varieties.

The workmanship throughout this large series is uniformly good without being of exceptional quality. There is a tendency towards lowering the relief and occasionally the result, as in F32–34, is unpleasing. Broken dies are helpful (the reverse of F12 and the

²⁰ Coin Types, pp. 17 ff.

obverse of F40 for example). Note also the obverse of F30 and the reverses of F22 and F24. Double-striking frequently complicates identifications. The evidence, however, hardly warrants our describing the minting as hurried.

GROUP G AND SUCCEEDING GROUPS

As has been pointed out the difference between Groups A-E and those which follow are basic and divide the di-staters into two groups. A repetition for emphasis will, I trust, be pardoned. There are two distinguishing marks to separate groups A to E from those which follow, as well as an appreciable difference in style: (1) the exergue of the reverse now contains two fishes instead of one; (2) in Groups G and H the Scylla is seen to be holding a rudder and a trident, respectively. The workmanship is coarser and less careful as may be observed in the crest particularly, but also in the hair treatment and in the modelling of the bull. The coin-flans are seldom sufficiently broad to show the entire surface of the dies. The helmet-crest is frequently incomplete and often either the ethnic or the fishes in the exergue of the reverse fail to show satisfactorily. The inscription, too, is significant; it drops at the end and since this neither follows the curve of the edge of the die nor repeats the line of the back of the charging bull, it weakens the design.

GROUP G (c. 333 B. C.)

Group G is exceptional because of its small size. So far as we now know, the group consists of one obverse die combined with four reverses. The racing torch which appears on the reverse above the bull is later found as an exergual symbol. The single obverse die, however, is much more significant. On the neckpiece of the helmet there is recurrence of the griffin seen earlier in Groups B and C. Behind the neck appear the letters ΙΠ. As has been mentioned, the Scylla now holds a rudder. In addition, behind the head of Athena and sometimes entirely off flan, we find a tiny Nike with a taenia or a wreath held aloft in front of her.

The first question is "what event in history is likely to have called forth the use of such a symbol?" After the catastrophe of 387 B. C., when Caulonia was destroyed and Croton punished by Dionysius, victories were not so common at Thurium that we may lose count of them. The troubled condition of Italy after the death of Archytas in 345 is common knowledge. The scanty records give us slight hint of anything that can be called a victory until Alexander of Molossos had arrived on the scene. The style of these pieces is not at variance with what we should expect for 334–332. The issue was a brief one—only one obverse die seems to have been needed.

In another place²¹ I hope to be able to demon-

²¹ The Coinage of Metapontum, Pt. III (in preparation).

strate that the single issue of di-staters at Metapontum occurred during the ascendancy of Alexander. The reasons are: (1) The name of the same magistrate, AMI, occurs on a stater having the thunderbolt symbol of Alexander (Pl. XI, 12) and also on *all* of the di-staters (Pl. XI, 11); (2) The period during which Metapontum and Thurium were united under the command of Alexander is the logical one in which to place Metapontum's single issue of this denomination. There are additional reasons, but what most concerns us here is that the Metapontine coin shows the bowl of the Corinthian helmet worn by Leukippos ornamented by the figure of Nike driving a quadriga while at Thurium we have the figure of Nike. In these coins on which Nike figures, may we not see a reference to Alexander's successes, one of which, according to Livy, was the recapture of Heraclea from the Lucanians? The scantiness of the issue would be an indication that it was initiated shortly before Alexander's death, which would be the reason for its ending.

In the initial arrangement of these di-staters of Thurium, these Nike pieces of Group G were placed after Group H. One reason for this was the letters EY on G2 which might have indicated a connection with H28 and H30 where EYΘ occurs on the flap of the helmet. Through Dr. Regling's kindness, I received the cast of the stater in the Berlin cabinet (Pl. XI, 8) which shows a racing torch on the reverse above the back of the bull just as it occurs on the di-stater and III replacing the griffin on the neckpiece

of the helmet instead of in the space between the crest and the neck. Although there are other staters showing Scylla holding a rudder which may possibly have some connection with this group, their testimony is not free from equivocation. In marked contrast with the small size of Group G and the rarity of staters which are similar, the stater issue which parallels Group H is exceptionally large. In place of the rudder held by Scylla we find a trident, while on the reverse there are added symbols, letters and monograms, notably $\Sigma\Omega$ and $\Sigma\Omega\Gamma$ as well as \mathcal{R} . If the $\Sigma\Omega$ issues (cf. Pl. XI, 9) are conceded to have come toward the end of this group as is shown by the di-staters, a comparison with the Berlin III stater shows its unmistakably earlier style. It must therefore be the earlier issue, and Group G must precede Group H.

GROUP H

The order shown is dictated by the circumstance that the latest pieces have inscriptions and symbols on both dies, while the earlier have none. The letter pi (Π) makes its appearance on the reverse of H12 and 14 giving place to $\mathbf{\Pi}$ on H16. This is a very significant addition, for it definitely precludes thinking that these letters can be artists' signatures since the letter on H16, ($\mathbf{\Pi}$), has been added to the die of H14 and the earlier letter eradicated. Fortunately, the obliteration is unmistakable.²² Since this cannot

²² Similar die-changes are recorded for other mints—typical examples from the issues of Croton and Tarentum are illustrated

indicate a change in the artist who cut the die, it is submitted that what we have here is a change in the moneyer or magistrate.²³ On the last four coins we have \mathcal{P} on the reverse—alone on H24, and in combination with $\Sigma\Omega$ or $\Sigma\Omega\Gamma$ on the others. $\Sigma\Omega$ or $\text{EY}\Theta$ occur on the obverse of the last three accompanied by a tiny owl as symbol. To add further to the difficulties of interpretation, another bird appears between the forelegs of the bull on the reverse—possibly a duck. The owl must be without connection with either of the two names since it occurs impartially with each of them. On the reverse since \mathcal{P} occurs alone, as well as on the die with $\Sigma\Omega\Gamma$ and the “duck,” the interpretation of the bird as a personal symbol would seem to be eliminated. The birds and fishes of Thurium are not a little troublesome.

herein on Plate XI and indicated by italics in the paragraph which follows.

Croton; a. E. T. Newell Coll., *Pl. XI, 3*, rev. only. b. Naville V, 701, *Pl. XI, 4*. Coins with the triangular mark of obliteration are frequently listed—those with ME are not common. Tarentum, a. Br. Mus. Cat. Italy, 121, *Pl. XI, 1*; b. Naples Cabinet, *Pl. XI, 2*. Both pieces are illustrated in Evans' 'Horsemen of Tarentum,' the first on Pl. III, 6—the second on Pl. XI, 4. This separation may account for the non-recognition that the same die serves for both. Changes of date on the issues of the mints of Sidon and Ake under Alexander have been recorded by Mr. Newell—cf. his 'Dated Alexander Coinage of Sidon and Ake, Notes 9, 12, 17, 19, 48 (Sidon) and 6 (Ake).

²³ Mr. Newell informs me that similar changes occur on the Alexandrine and Ptolemaic issues.

GROUPS J AND FOLLOWING

Any arrangement of the groups following H is open to grave exceptions. An examination will show a radical change of style. The large head in bold relief with the wide-crested helmet of groups F and G gives place to a much smaller head occupying the center of the flan rather than filling it or running over its edge as it did formerly. With reference to the head, the relief is weak and mincing. On the reverse the bull is frequently so bad as to seem caricatured. Even when the composition as a whole is impressive at first glance, a close examination reveals slovenliness and lack of care. In consequence, the arrangement submitted is a tentative one—merely a working basis. It is supported by reasoning which may have to be modified with the discovery of the first hoard containing these pieces. The homogeneity of the groups should perhaps first be established.

Group J is held together by the presence of the letters EYΦA, and almost by these alone. There are seventeen varieties, ten of these have two fishes in the exergue as is the case in the preceding group—the remaining seven have a thyrsus. In two of the obverse dies, the Scylla is holding a trident as in group G. In a discarded arrangement this was seen as a reason for beginning a new series of these pieces, but the continuation of the exergual convention (two fishes) seems a stronger warrant for the present sequence. On the remaining fifteen varieties (8? dies) the Scylla is hurling a rock (J26) or a squid (?).

The degeneration in style is nowhere more apparent than in the modeling of the Scylla, although the change in the treatment of the hair is also noteworthy. With a few exceptions (J22 and 24, and later in some but not all of the N group), the hair is not tied in a knot below the neck as in group H but spread out in loose tresses in a manner not used previously. The treatment of the exergual line, even within the groups, is not consistent—witness the mannered form of Nos. J30–34.

ΕΥΦΑ[N] is probably a magistrate,²⁴ and is possibly, but far from certainly, to be recognized in the ΕΥ to be seen beneath the bull on H2. The torch which appears above the bull in the H group is found also in the exergue of group L. The fifth letter of this name is supplied on the diobol illustrated on Pl. XI, No. 5.²⁵

Of the relative order of groups M and N we may be certain because of the sequence M12–M14–N2–N4. The obverse die is in an earlier stage in M12. Group K is placed before L because we should ordinarily assume that a two-letter form of a name preceded a three-letter form, but there are enough objections to make the alternative plausible. Not only may group L precede group K but reasons may be presented for thinking that both K and L precede group J, although this is not so strong a probability since the continued use of two fishes in the

²⁴ Cf. Regling, *Die Griechischen Münzen der Saml. Warren*, p. 18, note.

²⁵ In coll. of A. N. S., wt. 1.085.

exergue, which characterized Group G, supports the present placing.

Turning to the L group it will be seen that there are five variations of the reverse which share three obverse dies. One of these reverse dies has a single fish in the exergue—this is true also of the last four die combinations of group K, and is the basis of the present sequence. The other four reverse dies show a racing-torch in the exergue. This symbol also occurs on K4 between the hind legs of the bull as well as in group H above the back of the bull. It may be that an alternative to the present arrangement should be preferred—G8, L4-6-8-10-2, K12-14-16-18, K4 to 10 and K2 at the end of the group, which would be followed by group J in practically its present order. The style of the obverse head in the L group is fully as good (or as bad) as that found in group J, while the modelling of the bull is perhaps a little better than in many of the J dies. The presence of the letters ΣIM is the one condition which holds the group together. The dolphin below the crest of Athena on the obverse die of L2 has a single parallel in the introduction of an owl in the same place in H26 to 30. One reason for placing the L group in its present position is the evolution of the exergual line on the reverse—compare L10 and M2. The uninterrupted use of the rock-hurling Scylla is further support but neither has impressive value.

The K group is closely connected with the L group by reason of the letters ΣI and ΣIM which are pre-

sumably the initials of the same magistrate's name. There are nine die-combinations in the group. K2 is in a class by itself; ΣI occurs on the obverse and an aphlaston appears below the chin of Athena. What meaning should be given the NI of K2's reverse, under the circumstances, provides food for conjecture. The coiled serpent in the exergue is unique among the di-staters—it occurs, similarly placed, on the staters.²⁶ The exergue of the reverse provides a distinctive difference for the remaining eight varieties. Four show a tripod between two dolphins, and the remainder a single fish. It should be noted that the second group has the letter A behind the neck of Athena. The torch between the hind legs of the bull of K4 has already been mentioned.

The M group may be considered transitional. There are eight die combinations of which M12 and 14 mule with N2 and 4 as has already been noted.

The homogeneity of the group is indicated by the presence of the name ΕΥΦΡ, which is not to be confused with ΕΥΦΑ of group J. There is again a demonstration that the exergual symbol is not associated with the name since it changes from the flying owl for the first five varieties to the aegis in M12 to 16. Both of these are attributes of Athena but the significance of their use is not apparent. With the exception of M2 (it weighs 14.39 and is possibly plated), all these coins are struck on a wide hammered flan, upon which the head of Athena is

²⁶ Lloyd Coll., cf. *Num. Chron.*, 1924, p. 136, 14.

well centered. M6 shows a Scylla holding a rudder (cf. group H), but on the other four varieties showing the Scylla, she is hurling a rock as in groups J, K, L and N10–16. On the last three varieties in group M, the Scylla is replaced by a running griffin such as has occurred previously on the flap of the helmet (cf. groups D, F and H). I have been unable to find a satisfying explanation for the occurrence of the griffin at Thurium and Heraclea.²⁷ One is reminded that the griffin and the sphinx both of which occur earlier on the Thurian and Heracleian coinages, had a part in the decoration of the helmet of the Pheidian Athena of the Parthenon, but their significance there also is not clear. In M4 and M10, the flying owl is holding a wreath and this seems to be the intention on all the specimens showing the owl in the exergue, although the wreath is frequently off flan. May we not interpret this as conveying that “in the magistracy of ΕΥΦΡ, through a plan revealed by Athena, a victory was achieved.”²⁸ It seems noteworthy that in group H the griffin occurs along with the figure of Nike.

GROUP N

This group, here considered as the last of the di-staters, is held together by the name HPA or HPAK, the former of which occurs twice in retrograde form.

²⁷ Concerning the meaning of this monster on the coinage of Alexander, cf. Hill in J. H. S., 1921, p. 156; see also the Agathokleian coinage where the griffin appears on the helmet.—Head, *On the Coinage of Syracuse*, Pl. VIII, 5, 6.

²⁸ This symbol also occurs on the staters—cf. Naville Sale V, 570.

There is some ground for placing N6 and N8 at the end of the group because of the exergual symbols and because the Scylla on the helmet is even a little worse than on the other varieties within the group. The exergual objects for these two pieces seem to be a throw-back to the earlier convention but again without any indication of the meaning. The branch in the exergue of N2 is promoted to the space above the bull in N4. Mr. Robinson has called my attention to the similarity in style between the pieces of this group, (especially M12), and certain of the Croton coins having the head of Apollo on the obverse and a tripod on the reverse as well as the Metapontine type having Persephone's head for obv. and the plough symbol on the reverse. This comparison is supported by the branch which appears on N2 and N4—the occurrence of similar branches on the series at Croton can hardly be without significance. Acceptance of this suggestion would involve revising the date assigned for the Croton pieces in *Historia Numorum*, (370–330 B. C.). The other symbols, a lion's head to the right, cornucopiae and a racing torch (?) show almost the limit of variation possible but they can hardly have a connection with the name HPAK. The workmanship is sadly degenerate—witness the deplorable bull on N10.

PLATED COINS

That anything could be much worse than the workmanship shown in some of the pieces of Group N is hard to believe but a glance at the plated coins

with which Plate X is filled out demonstrates this possibility. The selection made is intended to be representative; accepting it as such a few deductions may be drawn.

With some of these coins it is very difficult to be certain whether they are plated or not. One such is illustrated on Plate IV where it is given the number F46. The obverse will sustain a superficial comparison with the other dies of Group F; the reverse is open to criticism. The placement of the piece is determined by the single fish in the exergue, and this is confirmed by the treatment of the figure of Scylla and the form of the crest. F38 has many similarities, but F46 has a sneering expression which is foreign to the prototype. The treatment of the hair above the ear is that of Group D and is also found in F1 and F16-24. The way in which the lower portion of the crest projects below the bowl of the helmet is slovenly to a degree not found in previous dies. The figure of Scylla is also carelessly modelled. On the reverse, the letters are weak. The beautifully indicated fish is too large and it follows the line of the edge as none of its predecessors do. The head and r. foreleg of the bull are not in keeping with anything that has gone before. The weight of this piece is 15.52—a second specimen, however, weighs 14.19, and its reproduction shows strong indications of plating.

Few of the earlier varieties seem to have been imitated in the plated pieces. Coin P2 is a poor derivative of Nos. D2-4-6 and the reverse limits it

to the last two of these. The exergual fish is not true to this prototype, but more nearly resembles F20. These combinations of an obverse with a reverse never found associated with it afford an indication that such varieties cannot have been official as some plated pieces seem to be.

J36 as an imitation is very good, but again the poor workmanship confirms the low weight to show that the coin is plated. Here the type imitated is J24, obverse and reverse. The Scylla is a fairly close copy with the defects of its pattern emphasized. On the reverse the exergual line differs and the iota of the inscription seems an after-interpolation.

P10 is designated by the letters HP as a copy of some one of the coins in Group N—an examination shows that bull on N12 was, unfortunately, the type chosen for imitation. The inscription is copied fairly accurately but the two fishes in the exergue as well as the placement of the letters HP above the line are in contrast with the procedure for the group with which this piece would be associated. A much more serious discrepancy, however, is provided by the obverse. For the type copied here we have to go as far back as Groups H and J, on which the Scylla is also holding a trident. The treatment of the crest of the helmet shows unmistakably that this piece is derived from the type of Group J. Further evidences of fabrication (perhaps it isn't plated) are to be seen in the smaller scale of the head—the prototype usually has the crest off-flan because of the

large size of the die; here the head is not in the least crowded.

Generalizations without additional evidence seem of questionable value but we must bear in mind that the bronze or copper cores of these pieces militate against their survival. It is impossible to determine from casts the methods used for plating and as I have not examined the pieces in Paris or Naples, information on this score has been omitted.

In an earlier day there was question of our having more than one coin from the same pair of dies. What would such doubters say to the coins P8a and P8b, which are from identical dies and *both pieces plated*. The illustrations demonstrate how much better the smaller coin has withstood the surface abrasions. The absence in uniformity in the size of the flan throws some light on the methods used by the fabricators. The prototype for the obverse is M12-14-N2. Singularly enough, the presence of the half-zeta-like addition to the original die (cf. M14), shows that the plated piece was made after this addition, whatever its significance may have been. The reverse copies or imitates the reverse of N10-12. In addition to the two pieces shown²⁹ a third specimen is to be found in the Naples Cabinet (Fiorelli 2777), weighing 15.45. Although this is not indicated as plated in the catalogue, the cast shows a characteristic indentation of the surface on the reverse which is an almost unmistakable indication

²⁹ a. Br. Mus. Cat. 47, wt. 13.50; b. De Luynes Cat. 584, wt. 14.62.

of plating. The most patent indication of its fabrication is to be seen in the reverse inscription which reads EH PA.

P6. If further proof of the plating of P8 were needed, we have in P10 a muling of its reverse die with an obverse imitating N10—that is, it copies both obverse and reverse of this variety. I am indebted for a cast of this interesting piece to Mr. R. Cyril Lockett in whose collection it is. It will be seen that the surface is broken away below the flap of the helmet. The weight is 14.57.

P4. The muling of plated pieces found in P8 and P10 is carried one step further in this coin, for here we have the obverse connected with a reverse which copies J10. This coin was No. 56 in the Hamburger 98 sale, Apr. 3, 1933, where the weight was given as 12.70. Another instance of the muling of plated coins is cited in Num. Notes and Monogr. 47, Metapontum, Pt. II, pp. 54–5, Nos. 539–541.

None of these pieces are from official dies but No. M2 at Berlin is of low weight (14.39) and has been kindly indicated by Dr. Regling as possibly plated. Justification for this suspicion is to be found in the exergual line, which is unlike that of any of the others in the group, and by what appear to be breaks in the surface of the coin beneath the chin of Athena on the obverse and at the tip of bull's right foreleg on the reverse. Besides this, the flan is only 24 mm. in width which is in contrast with the 28 to 30 mm. for the others in the group. The others also have hammered edges while this piece does not.

SYMBOLS

	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Field</i>	<i>Rev.</i> <i>Exergue</i>
Aegis			M12-16
Annulet (?)	F2-10		
Aphlaston	K2		N4
Branch		N4	N2
Cornucopiae			N12-14
Dolphin	L2		
Dolphins, Two			K4-10
Duck (?)		G28-30	
Griffin (Helmet Flap)	Gr. B, C, G.		
Griffin	M12-16,		
(Helmet)	N2-4, P8		
Lion-head			N10, P8-10
Nike	Gr. G		
Owl	H26-28		
Pellets, Six		F10-12	M2-10
Serpent			K2
Skyphos	F4-10		
Thyrsus			J24-34, P4
Torch		G2-8, K4	L4-10, N12
Tripod			K4-10

LETTERS AND INSCRIPTIONS

	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
A	K12-16	H10, J32
Ρ		H24-26, H30
APH		N8
B(?)	N6-8	
Δ	D2-6, J32, P2.	
ΔA		J30, 34
ΔI	F16-28 F32-34	
EY		G2
EYΘ	H28-30	
EYΦA[N]		Gr. J
EYΦP		Gr. M
Ι	A2	H16-22
HPA		N6, 10
		N14-16, X
		N2, 4 (?)
HPAK		
Θ (?)	F2-10	
ΙΑ	F28-30	
ΙΓ	G2-8	
ΙΣΤΟΡΟΣ		B6
NI		K2
Π		H12-14
ϠH		N12
ΣAN	J6-8	
ΣI	K2	K4-18
ΣIM		Gr. L
ΣΩ	H26	H26
ΣΩΓ		H28-30
TI	J20	
Φ	B2-4	
Ɱ (?)		M14, N2, P8

DESCRIPTIONS

A2. Athena head to r. wearing crested Athenian helmet ornamented with olive wreath showing five pairs of leaves.

R. ΘΟΥΡΙΩΝ. Bull with lowered head in profile to r. Below last letter of ethnic Ι. Exergual object off-flan.

a. Br. Mus. Cat. No. 1 - - - - - 15.00

The piece illustrated in the Walcher de Molthein catalogue, No. 208, weighing 15.70, is a cast of the Br. Mus. specimen.

B2. Athena head r. The crested Athenian helmet is ornamented with figure of Scylla; on the flap a griffin with raised forepaw. In the angle of the crest above the forehead, the letter Φ. Both Athena and Scylla wear necklaces.

R. Bull to r. Exergual line double, the lower composed of dots. In exergue fish to r. In tiny letters on flank of the bull to the r. of the tail ∇.

a. Br. Mus. Cat. 26 (Φ imperfect) - - 15.82

b. Berlin - - - - - 16.00

c. Cambridge, McClean 1254, pl. 40, 11
ex Hirsch XV, 668 - - - - - 15.70

d. Cambridge, McClean 1255, pl. 40, 12
ex Hirsch XVI, 130 - - - - - 15.72

e. Dresden - - - - - 16.00

f. Boston Mus. Fine Arts
ex Bunbury I, 157 - - - - - 15.84

g. Naples, Fiorelli 2780 - - - - - 15.10

h. Naples, Santangelo 4731 (Pl. I) - - 15.30

i. Naples, Santangelo 4735 (Pl. I) - - 15.80

j. E. T. Newell
ex American collector, 87
ex Hirsch XVIII, 2211 - - - - - 15.64

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- k. Count Chandon de Briailles - - - - 15.55
- l. Hirsch XXX, 227 - - - - - 15.10
- m. Naville XII, 482 - - - - - 15.07
- n. Seaby 1927, 539 - - - - - 13.68
- o. Santamaria, 1934 Prezzi Signati, 54 15.51

B4. Die of B2.

R. Similar to B2. Upper line of exergue dotted, lower continuous. The inscription curves downwards, the Υ being much larger than the other letters.

- a. Berlin - - - - - 14.83
- b. Naples, Santangelo 4734 - - - - - 15.70
- c. H. A. Greene - - - - - 15.38

B6. Similar to B4 save that there is no Φ and the griffin differs slightly in form.

R. Similar to B2. In tiny letters on the exergual line ΙΣΤΟΡΟΣ . Letters Ϝ on bull's flank to l. of tail.

- a. Naville V, 551
ex Sotheby, 1929, 6 - - - - - 15.69
- b. Paris, DeLuynes 581 - - - - - 15.65
- c. Marquis Ginori
Num. Chron. 1927, 299, pl. XIII, 4 14.10

B8. Closely similar to B2. The Φ is not present. Further differences in the locks of hair over the base of neck.

R. Similar to B6. No inscription on exergual line. The loop formed by the bull's tail smaller than in B6. Ϝ on flank.

- a. E. S. G. Robinson - - - - - 15.40
- b. R. Jameson 358 - - - - - 15.75
- c. Naville X, 100 - - - - - 15.68
- d. Hirsch XVIII, 2210
ex Ashburnham, 1885, 16
ex Northwick 114 - - - - - 15.74

C2. Athena head r. Similar to B8, save that the torso of Scylla is short and heavy; further differences in the griffin. Specimen a. is struck from an unfinished (?) die, only the beginnings of the figure of the Scylla having been cut.

R. Bull with lowered head to r. but with head now facing rather than in profile as heretofore. Exergual line of large dots. Beneath, fish to r.

- a. Paris (cf. pl. I) - - - - - 15.10
- b. Florence (cf. pl. I)
- c. Br. Mus. Cat. 27 - - - - - 15.55
- d. E. Gagliardi Coll.
ex Hartwig 275 - - - - - 15.69

C4. Similar to C2. The space between the back of neck and crest of helmet larger. The necklace slightly curved. The fins of the Scylla shorter.

R. Similar to C2. The exergual line of heavier dots. The fish to r. larger and slightly more curved.

- a. Vienna - - - - - 15.43
- b. Paris, DeLuynes 580 - - - - - 15.85
- c. Napels, Santangelo 4732 - - - - - 15.65
- d. R. Jameson 363 - - - - - 15.29
- e. Naville XVI, 245
ex Ratto, 1912, 282
ex Rous sale, 1911, 19 - - - - - 15.44

C6. Scylla with r. arm akimbo. No necklace visible.

R. Die of C4.

- a. Berlin - - - - - 15.86
- b. Naville XVI, 244
ex Nordheim sale, 1931, 835
ex Naville XIV, 47
ex Duruflé, 82 - - - - - 15.70
- c. Locker-Lampson Cat., 30 - - - - - 15.75

C8. Die of C6.

R. The exergual line is now continuous. Between the ethnic and the back of the bull and below the letters Υ P, a slightly curved line.

a. Br. Mus. Cat. 28	- - - - -	14.98
b. Hunter 18	- - - - -	15.65
c. South Kensington Mus., Salting		
ex Whitehead 5	- - - - -	15.75
d. Naples, Santangelo 4733	- - - - -	15.50
e. E. T. Newell	- - - - -	15.61
f. Dr. W. Giesecke		
ex Hirsch XX, 60		
ex Hirsch XII, 26	- - - - -	15.30
g. R. Cyril Lockett		
ex Naville VI, 222	- - - - -	15.77
h. In the trade	- - - - -	14.98

D2. Athena head to l. Between the neck and crest, the letter Δ .

R. Walking bull to r.—head not lowered. Heavy exergual line beneath which a fish* to r.

a. Berlin	- - - - -	15.56
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D4. Die of D2.

R. Bull to r. with lowered head, tip of tail following line of back.

a. E. T. Newell	- - - - -	15.55
b. Naples, Fiorelli 2783	- - - - -	15.60
c. DeNanteuil Cat., 182	- - - - -	15.00
d. G. Empedocles, Athens-	- - - - -	15.75
e. R. Cyril Lockett	- - - - -	15.75
f. Cte. Chandon de Briailles	- - - - -	15.30
g. Ratto, 1927, 230	- - - - -	14.45

*Cf. Zeit. f. Num. XXI (1898) p. 253 where this fish is identified as a Mugil (Greek Kestreus)—found also on the coins of Gela (Imhoof-Blumer & Keller *Tier-u. Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen*. Pl. VII, 1).

D6. Die of D2 and D4.

R. Similar to D4. Tip of tail raised from the bull's back. The ethnic in smaller letters.

- a. R. Cyril Lockett
ex Naville VI, 223 - - - - - 15.46

D8. Similar to D2, but without the Δ .

R. Die of D6. A die-break extends from Υ to shoulder of the bull.

- a. Br. Mus. Cat. 32 - - - - - 15.93
b. Brussels (du Chastel) - - - - - 15.34
c. Naples, Santangelo 4739 - - - - - 15.75
d. Naples, Santangelo 4740 - - - - - 15.45
e. Egger, 1909, 58 - - - - - 15.66

D10. Die of D8. The beginning of a die-break extends from the crest, along the arm and across the body of Scylla.

R. Die of D4.

- a. Cambridge, McClean 1259, Pl. 40,
16 - - - - - 15.71
ex Hirsch XI, 51
b. Dr. W. Giesecke - - - - - 15.36
c. Hirsch XXXIII, 205 - - - - - 15.80

D12. Die of D8 and D10, now broken so as to obscure helmet and crest back of the Scylla.

R. The bull's tail now lies diagonally across his flank. Heavy exergual line.

- a. E. S. G. Robinson - - - - - 15.70
b. E. T. Newell - - - - - 15.26

D14. Athena head l., the hair above the forehead in short locks, a characteristic of this entire series. A tiny die-fault in front of the nose on line

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with the eye. The l. hand of the Scylla touches the under portion of her body.

R. Similar to D12 in the position of the tuft of the bull's tail and in the size and placement of the letters of the ethnic. Note that the nose of the bull is above the l. foreleg.

- a. H. A. Greene
ex Hirsch XXI, 401 - - - - - 15.68

D16. Die of D14.

R. Similar to D12. The final letters of the ethnic follow the curve of the die. The fish in the exergue has his head up, nearly touching the exergual line.

- a. Berlin - - - - - 15.68
- b. Nervegna sale 508

D18. Die of D16.

R. Similar to D6. The ethnic is less extended.

- a. Paris- - - - - 15.80

D20. Die of D14-18, (coin tooled?).

R. Similar to D14. The lettering differs and is not like that of this group.

- a. Hirsch XXVI, 31 - - - - - 15.25

E2. Similar to D2 in the attitude of the Scylla. The hair treatment is simplified; there are similarities in such details as the modelling of the neck and of the lips and profile. The dog's head to the r. is turned upward.

R. Similar to D16, the l. foreleg of the bull more bent.

a.	Br. Mus. Cat., 31	- - - - -	15.23
b.	Berlin	- - - - -	14.65
c.	Berlin	- - - - -	15.74
d.	Br. Mus.		
	ex Ford Coll.	- - - - -	15.19
e.	New York Metropolitan Museum		
	Ward coll. 72	- - - - -	15.44
f.	Helbing, 1928, 48		
	ex Naville X, 99		
	ex Naville IV, 104	- - - - -	15.37

E4. Die of E2.

R. Bull to l. Light exergual line beneath which fish to l. with head upward and nearly touching line.

a.	Hoyt Miller	- - - - -	—
b.	Berlin	- - - - -	15.55
c.	Paris, DeLuynes 586	- - - - -	15.92
d.	Cambridge, Leake	- - - - -	15.38
e.	E. T. Newell	- - - - -	15.50
f.	Hamburger 98, 57		
	Ex Naville V, 552		
	Ex Ratto, 1911, 94		
	Ex Am. Coll., Soth. 1909, 89	- -	15.68

E6. Die of E2 and E4.

R. Similar to E4. The loop of the bull's tail smaller.

a.	Br. Mus.		
	ex J. Sambon Sale, 1889, 44	- - -	14.81

F2. Athena head to l. The Scylla has l. hand in front of torso. The hair masses above the forehead in simple locks. Below the chin, an annulet (on specimens b. and c.). Between the neck and the crest another annulet.

R. Ethnic in large letters, the upsilon and omega being distinctive in form and spacing.

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- a. Berlin - - - - - 15.84
- b. Paris, DeLuynes 585 - - - - - 15.40
- c. Cambridge, McClean 1260, Pl. 40,
17 - - - - - 15.39

F4. Athena head to r. On the bowl of the helmet behind the shoulders of the Scylla and just below the base of the crest of the helmet, a tiny scyphos or kotyle. Below the chin, an annulet (?) or flaw.

R. Ethnic in small letters. Dotted exergual line, with single fish below. The tail of the bull curves distinctively above its hind quarters.

- a. Naville VI, 221 - - - - - 15.74
- b. Cte. Chandon de Briailles
ex Naville XV, 195
ex Egger, 40, 187 - - - - - 15.62
- c. Sir C. W. C. Oman - - - - - —

F6. Die of F4.

R. The exergual line is double—a continuous line above a dotted one.

- a. Paris - - - - - 15.00
- b. Paris - - - - - 14.75
- c. Cambridge, McClean 1257, Pl. 40,
14
ex Carfrae 16, Pl. I, 10 - - - - - 15.59
- d. Naples, Santangelo 4730 - - - - - 15.50
- e. Vienna, Richter Coll. Num. Zeit,
1914, Pl. I, 36
ex Hirsch XVI, 132 - - - - - 15.82
- f. Hoyt Miller - - - - - —

F8. Die of F4 and F6.

R. Die of F2.

- a. Dresden - - - - - 14.80
- b. Turin, Lavy Coll. - - - - - 15.42

F10. Die of F4-8.

R. Bull to r. In exergue a single elongated fish. Exergue formed by a line of dots above which six small pellets unevenly distributed, two being between the hind legs of the bull.

a. Paris - - - - -	15.55
b. Berlin - - - - -	15.30
c. Vienna - - - - -	15.70
d. E. T. Newell - - - - -	15.57
e. Hirsch XXX, 228	
ex Strozzi 1071 - - - - -	15.85
f. Cte. Chandon de Briailles	
ex Naville XV, 196 - - - - -	15.62

F12. Athena head to l. Similar to E6 in profile but different in hair masses across the neck and in the positions of the dogs' heads.

R. Same die as F10.

a. E. T. Newell	
ex Hirsch XXVI, 283 - - - - -	15.52
b. Br. Mus. Cat. 30 - - - - -	15.36
c. Berlin - - - - -	15.82
d. R. Jameson Cat., 362	
ex Benson sale, 79 - - - - -	15.94
e. In the trade - - - - -	15.70

F14. Die of F12.

R. Bull with lowered head seen in *profile*. The ethnic in a straight line close to the back of the bull. There is a single exergual line. Cf. groups A and B.

a. Luneau 144 - - - - -	—
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F16. Similar to F4 but without the scyphos. Between the neckpiece and the crest, ΔI ; the second letter is usually fainter than the first.

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R. First three letters of the ethnic widely spaced.
Exergual line not quite straight.

a. Br. Mus. - - - - -	15.87
b. Brussels (de Hirsch) - - - - -	15.98
c. Berlin - - - - -	15.81
d. The Hague - - - - -	15.90
e. Sir H. Weber Cat. 878 - - - - -	15.77
f. Montagu, 55 - - - - -	15.29
g. E. Gagliardi Coll. - - - - -	— —

F18. Die of F16.

R. Die of F2.

a. Cambridge, McClean 1256, Pl. 40, 13 - - - - -	14.89
b. Cte. Chandon de Briailles - - - - -	15.40
c. Benson 78 ex R. H. Smith, 1897, 3 - - - - -	15.65

F20. Die of F16.

R. First five letters of ethnic evenly spaced, the
omega separated from the iota by more than usual
interval.

a. J. P. Morgan coll. ex O'Hagan, 69 - - - - -	15.71
b. Paris - - - - -	15.32
c. Gotha - - - - -	14.75
d. Naples, Santangelo 4737 - - - - -	15.50
e. Naples, Fiorelli 2782 - - - - -	15.75
f. E. T. Newell - - - - - ex Bougerol sale, 1909, 88	15.32
g. Cte. Chandon de Briailles - - - - -	15.37

F22. Die of F16.

R. Letters of ethnic evenly spaced throughout.
Beneath exergual line, fish with head close to the
line.

- a. Boston, Regling-Warren, 108 - - - 15.94
- b. Vienna - - - - - 14.80

F24. Die of F16.

R. Beneath exergual line short plump fish with die-break extending to foreleg of bull.

- a. Copenhagen - - - - - 15.77

F26. Die of F16.

R. Ethnic in a nearly straight line, the omega extending below the line and close to the iota. The bull's head in profile. Tail of the bull extremely short and forming small loop.

- a. New York Metropolitan Museum of
Art, Ward 73 - - - - - 15.75
- b. Ratto, 1/25/26, 547 - - - - - 15.28

F28. Athena head r.; between flap of helmet and crest the small letters ΙΔ.

R. Die of F26.

- a. A. H. Lloyd, Sylloge II, Pl. XVI, 486
ex Ciani, 12/12/21, 6 - - - - - 15.82
- b. Naples, Santangelo 4738 - - - - - 15.30
- c. R. Jameson 359
ex Bunbury (I) 159
ex Delbeke 27 - - - - - 15.85
- d. H. C. Ives,
ex Naville XVII, 72
ex Naville I, Pozzi, 229
ex H. P. Smith sale, 34 - - - - - 15.52

F30. Die of F28 but showing wear above the figure of the Scylla.

R. Similar to F28; the Υ of the ethnic much spread, the other letters fairly equally spaced.

- a. Br. Mus. Cat. 29 - - - - - 15.79
 b. Berlin - - - - - 15.80
 c. Hess 207, 77 - - - - - 15.23
 ex Seaby, 1927, 540
 ex Ratto, 1926, 548 - - - - - 15.35

F32. Athena head r. with Δ I in space behind neck. The modelling in lower relief than heretofore. The edge of the neckpiece seems to merge with the hair at the back.

R. Die of F4.

- a. Berlin - - - - - 15.61

F34. Die of F32.

R. The bull has a much longer body than in F32. The exergual line is single and the fish to r. beneath has its head close to the exergual line.

- a. Feuardent, 1914, 59 - - - - - —

F36. Similar to foregoing except that one of the dogs has his head upturned and the letters behind the neck are no longer present.

R. Similar to F30—the fish in the exergue is smaller.

- a. Paris, DeLuynes 578 - - - - - 15.80

F38. Similar to F28 and F34 but without Δ I. The r. hand of the Scylla shows the fingers across the visor of the helmet.

R. Closely similar to foregoing. Slight differences in spacing of the letters and in the fish in the exergue.

- a. Brussels (de Hirsch) - - - - - 15.79
- b. Brussels (de Hirsch) - - - - - 15.46
- c. Paris, DeLuynes 579 - - - - - 15.84
- d. R. Jameson 357 - - - - - 15.71

F40. Die of F38. Now badly broken across the helmet and with a flaw at the chin.

R. The ethnic in a straight line with more than the usual space between the iota and omega.

- a. E. S. G. Robinson - - - - - 15.66
- b. Cte. Chandon de Briailles - - - - - 15.62

F42. Die of F36.

R. Die of F38.

- a. The American Numismatic Soc. - - 15.77
- b. Naville XII, 481 - - - - - 15.16
- c. White-King, Sotheby, 1909, 28 - - 15.94
- d. Dr. O. Bernhard, St. Moritz
ex Helbing LXX, 461
ex Helbing, 10/24/27, 2567 - - - 15.60

F44. Die of F36 and F42.

R. Die of F34 and F40.

- a. Naples, Santangelo 4729 - - - - - 15.30
- b. George J. Bauer, Rochester - - - 15.55
ex Collignon 41

F46. The profile and lips of Athena badly modelled; the figure of Scylla blurred. Possibly plated.

R. Exergual line dotted; the bull unlike any of its predecessors with the possible exception of C4-6.

- a. Count Chandon de Briailles
ex Hirsch XVI, 131
ex Egger XL, Prowe, 186 - - - 15.52
- b. Cahn Sale 66, 59 - - - - - 14.19

G2. Athena head to r. The Scylla holds rudder and on the flap of the helmet there is a griffin as in Group B. Behind the neck the letters III. In the field to the l. a flying Nike with a wreath in her upraised hands.

R. Bull to r. with flaming race-torch above his back and EY between the forelegs. In the exergue two fishes to r.

a. Br. Mus. Cat. 36	- - - - -	15.82
b. Paris-	- - - - -	15.80
c. Vienna	- - - - -	15.15
d. Cambridge, McClean 1262, Pl. 40,		
19	- - - - -	15.29
e. Naples 2776	- - - - -	15.55
f. Naville XVI, 252	- - - - -	15.66
g. Sir C. W. C. Oman, Oxford	- - - - -	— —

G4. Die of G2.

R. Similar to G2. The race torch is larger and there are no letters between the forelegs.

a. Br. Mus. Cat. 35	- - - - -	15.77
b. Booth Sale, Sotheby July 24, 1900,		
16	- - - - -	15.47

G6. Die of G2.

R. Similar to G4. The torch smaller and the fishes in the exergue longer.

a. Berlin	- - - - -	15.52
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G8. Die of G2.

R. Similar to G4. The ethnic closer to the back of the bull, the bowl of the torch separating the P and I.

- a. Berlin - - - - - 15.50
- b. Cambridge, McClean 1261, Pl. 40, 18
ex Hirsch XIII, 173 - - - - - 15.86
- c. Naville XVI, 252
ex Headlam 253
ex Hirsch XXVI, 32 - - - - - 15.67
- d. Dr. W. Giesecke - - - - - 16.03

H2. Athena head to r. The Scylla holds a trident in her r. hand with the prongs showing above the shoulder and sometimes intercepting the crest. This occurs throughout the series.

R. Exergue formed by a continuous line above a line of dots. Beneath these, two fishes to r., the one at the l. having its head above the body of the one on the r.

- a. DeSartiges 49
ex Bunbury (I), 156 - - - - - 15.55
- b. Helbing, Mar. 20, 1928, 49
ex Naville XII, 483 - - - - - 14.76

H4. Similar to H2; the handle of the trident shorter and the crest coarse and wavy instead of straight.

R. The last two letters of the ethnic notably lower than those which precede. The fish to r. above the one at l.

- a. Br. Mus. Cat. 33 - - - - - 15.93
- b. E. T. Newell - - - - - 16.07
- c. Naville XVI, 251
ex Headlam 254
ex Hartwig 272 - - - - - 16.05

H6. Similar to H4; the trident is at a different angle, and the space between neckpiece and crest is more constricted.

R. Die of G4.

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- a. Florence - - - - -
- b. Naples, Santangelo 4745 - - - - - 15.30
- c. Naples, Santangelo 4746 - - - - - 15.30

H8. Similar to H2; the prongs of the trident extend slightly below the base line of the crest.

R. Similar to H2; in the exergue the fish to the l. has its head below the body of the other.

- a. Dresden - - - - - 15.80
- b. Naples, Santangelo 4744 - - - - - 15.40
- c. Naples, Santangelo 4747 - - - - - 15.60
- d. Hirsch XIV, 110 - - - - - 15.74
- e. Cahn 80, 64 - - - - - 16.06

H10. Die of H8.

R. The bull is similar to the one on H4—between the hind legs, the letter A.

- a. Count Chandon de Briailles - - - - 14.75
ex 'Molossian' Hoard
cf. Vlasto, Num. Chron. 1926, p. 215.

H12. Similar to H8. A single dog's head shows prominently.

R. Similar to H10 but a letter, probably Π, between the hind legs of the bull.

- a. Milan - - - - - 14.50

H14. Similar to H4; the shaft of the trident is very long.

R. Similar to H12, but with differences in position of the foreleg.

- a. Naples, Santangelo 4751 - - - - - 15.70

H16. Similar to H14, but with the shaft of the

trident much shorter, and with differences in the locks of hair in front of the ear.

R. Die of H14, with the Π obliterated and \mathbf{I} added above the bull's back.

a. Berlin - - - - - 15.88

H18. Die of H16, the die broken in front of the nose and below chin.

R. Ethnic in a curved line, between it and the back of the bull the letter \mathbf{I} . Two fishes in exergue as in H8.

a. Berlin - - - - - 15.52

b. The Hague - - - - - 15.90

H20. Die of H18.

R. Similar to H18 save that the l. fish in the exergue has its head above the body of the one to the right.

a. E. T. Newell - - - - - 15.34

b. Copenhagen - - - - - 15.18

c. Cambridge, McClean 1258, Pl. 40,
15 - - - - - 15.20

d. Naples, Santangelo 4750 - - - - - 14.90

e. Boston, Regling-Warren 107 - - - - - 15.76

f. Cahn 71, 101 - - - - - 15.47

g. Ball, 1932, 24 - - - - - 14.50

h. Naville XVII, 73 - - - - - 15.06

H22. Similar to H16. (Suspicious—possibly plated.)

R. Cf. H20; the head of second fish nearly touches exergual line.

a. Naples, Santangelo 4749 - - - - - 12.60!

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H24. Similar to H6. The trident short and the crest wavy.

R. Ethnic in nearly straight line. Beneath the hind legs of the bull the letter **Ι** and beneath its body **Ρ**. Fishes in exergue as in H4 and 8.

a. Berlin	- - - - -	16.00
b. Berlin	- - - - -	15.43
c. Naples, Fiorelli 2781	- - - - -	15.15
d. Naples, Santangelo 4748	- - - - -	15.05
e. Martinetti-Nervegna 509		
f. O'Hagan, 1908, 70	- - - - -	15.42
g. Cumberland Clarke 54		
ex Hirsch XVI. 133	- - - - -	15.50

H26. On the flap of the helmet **ΣΩ**. In the space between the crest and the neckpiece, an owl to r.

R. Between the ethnic and the back of the bull **ΣΩ**. Between the bull's hind legs **Ρ**.

a. R. Jameson 366		
ex Rollin, 1908, 72		
ex Sambon-Canessa, 1906, 116	-	15.54
b. Cte. Chandon de Briailles		
ex Hirsch XXI, 402	- - - - -	14.72

H28. Similar to H26 save that the letters on the helmet are **ΕΥΘ**, and the trident is held at a different angle.

R. Below the ethnic **ΣΩΓ**. Between the bull's hind legs **Ρ** and between the front ones a bird (duck?) to r.

a. Naville IV, 107		
ex Sir Herman Weber 882	- - -	15.90
b. Cambridge, McClean 1263, Pl. 40, 20		
ex Hirsch XIII, 172	- - - - -	14.44
c. Naples, Santangelo 4752	- - - - -	15.80
d. E. T. Newell	- - - - -	15.42
e. Booth, 1900, 16a	- - - - -	15.90

H30. Die of H28.

R. Similar to H28. The initial stroke of the omega of the ethnic parallels the top stroke of the gamma beneath it. The tail of the bull extends for a longer distance above its back.

a.	Berlin	- - - - -	15.38
b.	Berlin	- - - - -	16.06
c.	Br. Mus. Cat. 34	- - - - -	14.88
d.	Hunterian 19	- - - - -	15.49
e.	Vienna	- - - - -	15.77
f.	The Hague	- - - - -	15.60
g.	Gotha	- - - - -	15.70
h.	Frankfurt 303	- - - - -	—
i.	Dr. O. Bernhard, St. Moritz		
	ex Ratto, 1926, 551	- - - - -	15.95
j.	In the trade		
	ex Waldeck Coll.	- - - - -	15.28

J2. Head of Athena, wearing triple-pendent earring, to r. Scylla with head thrown back, holds a rock (?) in her upraised r. hand. The tail-fins take the shape of a lyre. The crest-base terminates rather high on the bowl of the helmet.

R. The ethnic in coarse letters, as is also the name of the magistrate found throughout the series, ΕΥΦΑ.* Of the two fishes beneath the heavy exergual line the one to l. has its head beneath the body of the other.

a.	Br. Mus. Cat. 39	- - - - -	15.51
b.	Von Wotoch, 1901, 126-	- - - - -	—

*On the evidence of the diobol illustrated on Pl. XI, the fifth letter of this name is an N.

J4. Same die as J2.

R. Ethnic in nearly straight line and small

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letters. In the exergue the fish to r. has its tail beneath the head of the one to the l.

- a. Berlin - - - - - 15.69
- b. Paris- - - - - 15.00
- c. Rollin-Feuardent, 1908, 74

J6. Between the crest and the flap of the helmet the letters ΣAN.

R. Ethnic and magistrate's name in very small letters. The figure of the bull poorly modelled. The fishes in the exergue as in J4.

- a. Br. Mus. Cat. 38 - - - - - 15.47

J8. Die of J6.

R. Ethnic and magistrate's name in large letters. The exergual line is irregular. The fishes are larger than heretofore and in the position of J4.

- a. Cambridge, McClean 1265, Pl. 40,
21 - - - - - 15.31

J10. Similar to J8, but larger in scale and without ΣAN. Die broken across the hair tresses below the helmet.

R. Die of J8.

- a. Hunter, 22 - - - - - 14.79

J12. The tail of the Scylla curves distinctively. The hair-treatment resembles that of Group H.

R. The bull poorly modelled. Single exergual line. ΕΥΦΑ in small letters.

- a. Naples, Fiorelli 2775 - - - - - 15.28

J14. Similar to J12, probably same die.

R. Tail of the bull extended along its back to a point just short of the Y. Exergue off flan.

- a. E. Gagliardi Coll.
ex Hartwig 271 - - - - - 15.02

J16. Similar to J12, possibly the same die.

R. Loop formed by the bull's tail larger than in J14. Exergue indefinite in both specimens.

- a. Berlin - - - - - 16.02
b. Copenhagen - - - - - 15.50

J18. Similar to J16, probably same die.

R. Bull's tail forms small loop. In the exergue, the fish to r. has its tail below the fish to l.

- a. Cambridge, McClean 1266, Pl. 40,
22
ex Prowe, Egger, 1904, 114 - - - 15.64

J20. The neckpiece of the helmet bears the letters TI.

R. The vertical stroke of the Φ in a line with that of the P.

- a. A. H. Lloyd
ex Ratto, 1926, 549
Cf. Sylloge II, Pl. XVI, 490 - - 15.32
b. Berlin - - - - - 15.60

J22. Cf. with Group H, in which the Scylla also holds a trident, and from which this appears to be derived—a weaker version in lower relief and smaller in scale.

R. The ethnic follows the curve of the die. Two

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parallel lines delimit the exergue. The object occupying this space is off flan.

a. Br. Mus. Cat. 40 - - - - - 15.71

J24. Similar to J22. The tips of the trident just touch the base of the crest.

R. Similar to J22—the bull smaller in scale. The exergual line is dotted; beneath, a thyrsus to r.

a. Hunter 23 - - - - - 15.88

b. Paris, DeLuynes 582 - - - - - 15.33

c. New York, Metropolitan Mus.,
Ward 74
ex Montagu, 1897, 24
ex Well known coll., 1894, 24 - - 15.75

J26. Similar to J24 but smaller in scale. The Scylla is hurling a squid.

R. Die of J24.

a. Berlin - - - - - 15.09

b. Br. Mus. - - - - - 15.88

c. Vienna - - - - - 15.70

d. Cambridge, McClean 1267, Pl. 40,
23
ex Hirsch XIII, 174 - - - - - 15.33

e. E. T. Newell
ex Merzbacher, Nov. 1909, 2287
ex Hirsch XIX, 67 - - - - - 15.30

f. Capt. Hollschek, Vienna - - - - - 15.28

J28. Similar to J16, but without earring or necklace.

R. Similar to J24–26 save that exergual line is made up of thick dashes.

a. Capt. Hollschek, Vienna
ex Hartwig 276 - - - - - 15.25

b. (Plated?) ex Prince Waldeck Coll. - 15.31

J30. Similar to J28, the lower element of the crest differs.

R. Between the hind legs of the bull the letter Δ, between his forelegs A. The exergual line formed by lentoid-shaped dots. The thyrsus in the exergue has its streamers below the shaft.

a. Gotha - - - - - 15.60

J32. Similar to J30. Probably the same die.

R. Similar to J30 save that the letter between the forelegs is now Δ; from this specimen it is impossible to tell whether or not there is a letter between the hind legs.

a. E. T. Newell
ex Sambon-Canessa, 1927, 401 - 15.60

J34. Closely similar to J30. Probably the same die.

R. Similar to J30, the bull smaller in scale. The thyrsus has a short handle and the fillets are displayed in the form of a quatrefoil.

a. Paris - - - - - 14.75

J36. For description see text under Plated Coins.

K2. Athena head r. The Scylla is hurling a rock; the l. arm outstretched. The neck-piece of the helmet is decorated with a scroll. To the l. of neck ΣΙ; to r. an aphlaston.

R. Between ethnic and bull ΝΙ; in the exergue, coiled serpent to r.

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a. Berlin	- - - - -	16.04
b. Br. Mus. Cat. 41	- - - - -	15.45
c. A. H. Lloyd, Syll. 489		
ex Ratto, 1/26/1926, 550	- - - - -	15.42
d. Hunter 27	- - - - -	15.48
e. E. T. Newell	- - - - -	15.47
f. Cornell Univ., Ithaca	- - - - -	15.78

K4. Similar to K2 in form of body of the Scylla and placement of the tail.

R. Between the ethnic and the bull Σ I. In exergue a tripod between two facing dolphins. Between the hind legs of the bull racing torch with top to r.

a. Vienna	- - - - -	15.68
b. A. H. Lloyd, Syll. 488	- - - - -	15.17

K6. Die of K4.

R. Similar to K2; the Σ I is larger. A die-flaw shows to the r. of the tripod.

a. Br. Mus. Cat. 45	- - - - -	15.95
b. Paris	- - - - -	15.65
c. Berlin	- - - - -	15.81
d. The Hague	- - - - -	15.00

K8. Similar to K6. The space between the lower part of the crest and the neck-piece is smaller.

R. Die of K6.

a. Hunter 21	- - - - -	15.62
b. Seaby, 1929, 116		
ex Cahn 60, 108		
ex Sambon-Canessa, 1927, 400		
(14.40!)	- - - - -	15.42

K10. Die of K8.

R. Similar to K8, the letters of the inscription differ; the tripod is smaller.

- a. Naville XVI, 253
ex Von Wotoch, 1901, 125 - - - 15.46

K12. Similar to K2 but with A in the space between the crest and the neck-piece.

R. Similar to K4 but with fish to r. in the exergue. The Σ of the Σ I is beneath the Υ of the ethnic.

- a. Paris - - - - - 14.25
b. G. P(icard) Sale, Sambon, 1923, 167
ex Hartwig 273 - - - - - 13.25
c. R. Cyril Lockett
ex Balmano 18 - - - - - 12.40

K14. Similar to K12, the A is at a slightly different angle, there are five locks of hair below the torso of the Scylla.

R. Similar to K12; the I of Σ I is beneath the Υ of the ethnic.

- a. Br. Mus. Cat. 44 - - - - - 15.61

K16. Die of K14.

R. Similar to K14; the I of Σ I is to the l. of the Υ .

- a. E. P. Robinson - - - - - 15.42

K18. Similar to K16 but without the A.

R. Die of K16.

- a. Vienna - - - - - 15.80
b. Paris - - - - - 15.70
c. Naples, Santangelo 4735 - - - - - 15.10
d. R. Cyril Lockett
ex Naville VI, 232
ex Hartwig 274 - - - - - 14.72
e. Egger, 1/7/1908, 14 - - - - - 15.11
f. Luneau 143 - - - - - —

L2. Similar to K16 but having a dolphin to r. between the crest and the neck-piece of the helmet.

R. Similar to K16, save that the letters ΣIM occur between the ethnic and the bull. Fish to r. in the exergue.

- a. A. H. Lloyd, Syll. 487
ex Naville X, 101
ex Naville, V, 569
ex Burel, 1913, 37 - - - - - 15.55
- b. Br. Mus. Cat. 42 - - - - - 15.57
- c. Berlin - - - - - 15.63
- d. Hunter 20 - - - - - 15.49
- e. E. T. Newell
ex Egger 1/7/1908, 13 - - - - - 15.35
- f. Dr. W. Giesecke - - - - - 15.30
- g. R. Cyril Lockett
ex Naville XII, 484 - - - - - 15.79
ex Hess, 3/19/1918, 100
ex Hamburger, VII, 1908, 222
- h. Cte. Chandon de Briailles - - - - - 15.63
- i. Polese, 1928, 317 - - - - - ———

L4. Similar to L2 but without the dolphin.

R. Similar to L2 save that in the exergue there is a racing torch with flame upward to r. The letters ΣIM are larger than in L2.

- a. Br. Mus. Cat. 43 - - - - - 15.20
- b. Naples, Santangelo 4741 - - - - - 15.55
- c. DeNanteuil 186
ex Collignon 42 - - - - - 13.71

L6. Die of L4.

R. Similar to L4 but smaller in scale; the under side of the exergual line is irregular. Traces of the torch are barely visible.

- a. Berlin (possibly plated) - - - - - 15.00

L8. The figure of Scylla differs from the foregoing in that the r. arm is bent at the elbow.

R. Similar to L4—the ethnic has smaller letters; the initials ΣIM nearer the bull.

- a. Naples, Fiorelli 2778 - - - - - 15.65
- b. Cambridge, McClean 1269
ex Booth Sale, Sotheby, 1900, 16b 14.87

L10. Die of L8.

R. Similar to L6; the exergual line is of heavy dots.

- a. R. Cyril Lockett
ex Naville IV, 105
ex Sir H. Weber 883 - - - - - 15.56

M2. Athena head to r. Helmet ornamented with Scylla hurling rock.

R. Type similar to foregoing save that the exergual line here is heavy and wavy. In the exergue an owl with outstretched wings holding wreath in its talons. To its l. ΕΥ, to the r. ΦΡ.

- a. Berlin—plated (?) - - - - - 14.39

M4. Similar to M2—the Scylla is holding a spherical object.

R. Similar to M2 but in lower relief. Thin exergual line.

- a. Berlin - - - - - 15.75

M6. Similar to foregoing. The Scylla holds a rudder. The neck-piece of the helmet is decorated by a scroll.

R. Similar to M4. The exergual line is heavier; the owl is more nearly like that in M2.

- a. Vienna - - - - - 15.63

M8. Similar to M4. The end of the crest is here separated from the tresses. The whole in lower relief than previously.

R. Die of M6 with a break extending diagonally from the l. hind foot and obscuring the first letter in the exergue.

- a. Hunterian 24 - - - - - 15.74
- b. Caprotti 213 - - - - - 14.50

M10. Similar to M8. The Scylla slightly larger in scale.

R. Similar to M2. The exergual line is dotted.

- a. Br. Mus. Cat. 37 - - - - - 14.76
- b. Paris - - - - - 14.70
- c. American Numismatic Society - - 14.70

M12. The helmet of Athena now ornamented by a running griffin.

R. Similar in type to foregoing. Beneath the exergual line the aegis with ΕΥ to l. and ΦΡ to r.

- a. Br. Mus. Cat. 46 - - - - - 15.36

M14. Die of M12 with addition of □ (possibly a die flaw) between crest and neck-piece of helmet.

R. Similar to M12. The letters of the ethnic smaller. The exergue is also constricted.

- a. Br. Mus.
ex Montagu II, 25 - - - - - 15.49

M16. Similar to M14, but with differences in position of head and wings of griffin.

R. Similar to M12 but larger in scale—note aegis.

- a. Naples, Santangelo 4743 - - - - - 15.20

N2. Die of M14.

R. Type similar to foregoing. The exergual line is irregular. Beneath it, a leafy branch points diagonally downwards to r.; to the l. HP, to the r. AK.

- a. Hunterian 28 - - - - - 15.67
- b. R. Cyril Lockett
ex Naville VI, 231 - - - - - 15.25

N4. Die of N2.

R. Branch similar to that in the exergue of N2, between the ethnic and the back of the charging bull. In the exergue an aphlaston and HP-AK (?).

- a. Paris - - - - - 16.00
- b. G. Empedocles, Athens - - - - - 15.65

N6. The helmet of Athena is now decorated by a Scylla with a very thick body. Behind the neck-piece B? or possibly the fire-steel-like object occurring elsewhere on Magna Grecian coins.

R. Bull with r. foreleg doubled back. In the exergue, a single fish. Above the back of the bull HPA.

- a. Jameson 368 - - - - - 15.92
- b. Paris, DeLuynes 583 - - - - - 15.80

N8. Die of N6.

R. Similar to N2. Above the back of the bull, APH. In the exergue, two fishes.

- a. Naples, Santangelo 4736 - - - - - 15.30

N10. Athena's helmet ornamented with Scylla hurling rock. The scale slightly larger than in N2-6.

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R. Type similar. In the exergue a lion's head to r. with H to l. and PA to r.

- a. Naville IV, 106
ex Sir Herman Weber 884 - - - 15.43
- b. Hunter 25 - - - - - 15.46
- c. E. T. Newell
ex Cavedoni 93 - - - - - 14.93

N12. Die of N10.

R. Similar to N10 save that below the exergue there is a large cornucopiae with H to l. and PA to r.

- a. Vienna - - - - - 15.72
- b. Hunter 26 - - - - - 15.82
- c. Cambridge, McClean 1268, Pl. 40,
24
ex Hartwig 277 - - - - - 15.85
- d. Naples, Santangelo 4742 - - - - - 15.00

N14. Similar to N12. The arm of the Scylla bent at the wrist.

R. Similar to N12. Below the exergual line a cornucopiae with H to the l. and PA to r.

- a. Br. Mus.
ex Egger XLV, 185 - - - - - 15.73

N16. Similar to N10, slightly smaller in scale.

R. Similar to N10, the last four letters of the ethnic noticeably larger than the first two. The exergual line heavy. Beneath it, a branch (?) or a racing-torch and the conjoined letters **HP**. retrograde, to r.

- a. Br. Mus.
ex Sir Herman Weber 885 - - - 15.40

P L A T E S

THE THURIAN DI-STATERS



A 2.



B 2.



B 2.



B 8.



C 2.



C 2.



PLATE I



B 2



B 4.



B 6.



C 4.



C 6.



C 8.



THE THURIAN DI-STATERS



D 2.



D 4.



D 6.



D 14.



D 16.



D 18.



PLATE II



D 8.



D 10.



D 12.



E 2.



E 4.



E 6.



THE THURIAN DI-STATERS



F 2.



F 4.



F 6.



F 18



F 32



F 14.



F 16.



F 18.



PLATE III



F 8.



F 10.



F 12.



F 20.



F 22.



F 24.



THE THURIAN DI-STATERS



A 2.



B 2.



B 2.



B 8.



C 2.



C 2.



PLATE I



B 2



B 4.



B 6.



C 4.



C 6.



C 8.



THE THURIAN DI-STATERS



D 2.



D 4.



D 6.



D 14.



D 16.



D 18.



PLATE II



D 8.



D 10.



D 12.



E 2.



E 4.



E 6.



THE THURIAN DI-STATERS



F 2.



F 4.



F 6.



F 18



F 32



F 14.



F 16.



F 18.



PLATE III



F 8.



F 10.



F 12.



F 20.



F 22.



F 24.



THE THURIAN DI-STATERS



F 26.



F 28.



F 30.



F 38.



F 40.



F 42.



PLATE IV



F 32.



F 34.



F 36.



F 4



F 44



F 36



F 44.



F 46.



G 2.



THE THURIAN DI-STATERS



G 4.



G 6.



G 8.



H 8.



H 10.



H 12.



PLATE V



H 2.



H 4.



H 6.



H 14.



H 16.



H 18.



THE THURIAN DI-STATERS



G 4.



G 6.



G 8.



H 8.



H 10.



H 12.



PLATE V



H 2.



H 4.



H 6.



H 14.



H 16.



H 18.



THE THURIAN DI-STATERS



F 26.



F 28.



F 30.



F 38.



F 40.



F 42.



PLATE IV



F 32.



F 34.



F 36.



F 4



F 44



F 36



F 44.



F 46.



G 2.



THE THURIAN DI-STATERS



G 4.



G 6.



G 8.



H 8.



H 10.



H 12.



PLATE V



H 2.



H 4.



H 6.



H 14.



H 16.



H 18.



THE THURIAN DI-STATERS



H 20.



H 22.



H 24.



J 2.



J 4.



J 6.



PLATE VI



H 26.



H 28.



H 30.



J 8.



J 10.



J 12.



THE THURIAN DI-STATERS



J 14.



J 16.



J 18.



J 26.



J 28.



J 30.



PLATE VII



J 20.



J 22.



J 24.



J 32.



J 34.



J 36.



THE THURIAN DI-STATERS



K 2.



K 4.



K 6.



K 14.



K 16.



K 18.



PLATE VIII



K 8.



K 10.



K 12.



L 2.



L 4.



L 6.



THE THURIAN DI-STATERS



H 20.



H 22.



H 24.



J 2.



J 4.



J 6.



PLATE VI



H 26.



H 28.



H 30.



J 8.



J 10.



J 12.



THE THURIAN DI-STATERS



J 14.



J 16.



J 18.



J 26.



J 28.



J 30.



PLATE VII



J 20.



J 22.



J 24.



J 32.



J 34.



J 36.



THE THURIAN DI-STATERS



K 2.



K 4.



K 6.



K 14.



K 16.



K 18.



PLATE VIII



K 8.



K 10.



K 12.



L 2.



L 4.



L 6.



THE THURIAN DI-STATERS



L 8.



L 10.



M 2.



M 10.



M 12.



M 14.



PLATE IX



M 4.



M 6.



M 8.



M 16.



N 2.



N 4.



THE THURIAN DI-STATERS



N 6.



N 8.



N 10.



P 2.



P 4.



P 6.



PLATE X



N 12.



N 14.



N 16.



P 8a



P 8b



P 10.



THE THURIAN DI-STATERS



L 8.



L 10.



M 2.



M 10.



M 12.



M 14.



PLATE IX



M 4.



M 6.



M 8.



M 16.



N 2.



N 4.



THE THURIAN DI-STATERS



N 6.



N 8.



N 10.



P 2.



P 4.



P 6.



PLATE X



N 12.



N 14.



N 16.



P 8a



P 8b



P 10.



THE THURIAN DI-STATERS



1.



2.



3.



5.



8.



9.



10.



PLATE XI



4.



6.



7.



5.



11.



12.



13.



THE THURIAN DI-STATERS



1.



2.



3.



5.



8.



9.



10.



PLATE XI



4.



6.



7.



5.



11.



12.



13.



NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

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NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

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